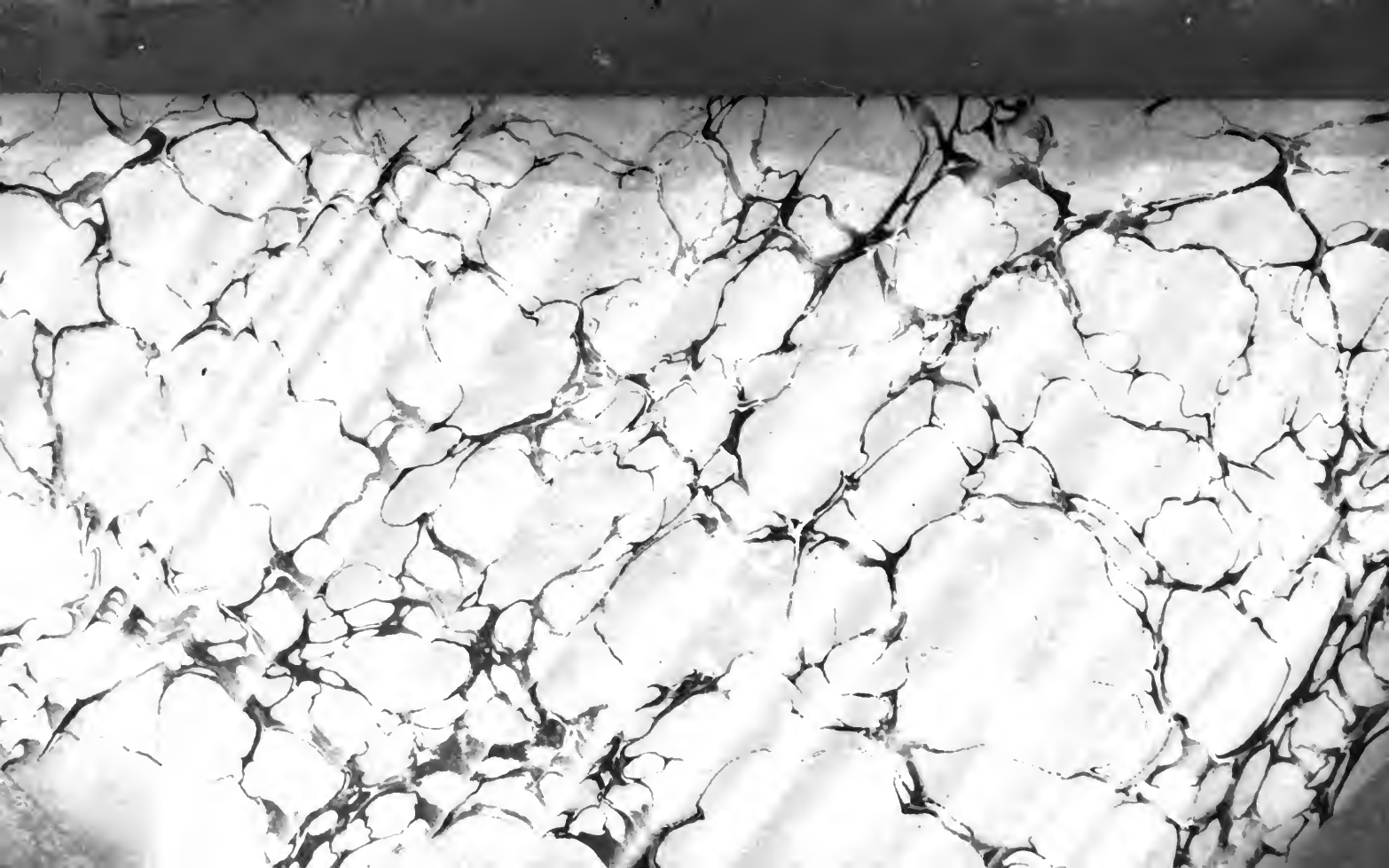

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XIV.

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Of the Diseases, Remedies, Death, and Manner of Burying among the Negroes.

Of the fear of death among the Negroes.

HOWEVER unhealthy Guinea may prove to strangers and sailors, who live intemperately, the natives are subject but to two diseases. One writer tells us, that their constitutions are so strong, that whether wounded or sick, they pay very little attention to their recovery, but follow their usual employments, as if nothing had happened to them. Bosman, on the contrary, affirms, that their fear of death is so great, that the slightest accident is treated with the utmost circumspection: they know that to die but once, is for ever to be sunk in oblivion; a thought altogether insupportable to Negroes. Actuated by this principle, they leave no means unessayed to extend the thread of life. They first apply to medicines and natural remedies; but where the case is dangerous, believing them insufficient to preserve life and restore health, they have recourse to their superstitious

 religious

religious worship, as the most effectual. What contributes to render this custom more general, is, that the spiritual and bodily doctor are united in the same person, the priest always acting in both capacities. He finds it no difficult matter for him to persuade the patient, or his relations, that no hope remains, but from offerings made to appease the fetiche; upon which he is desired to consult the god what presents will be the most agreeable to him. We may believe that the priest neglects not his own interest on this occasion; and as the choice depends on himself, he is sure to fix upon what he likes best, as a cock, hen, goat, sheep, hog, gold, cloth, wine, or something else the most useful and convenient. He is careful to proportion them to the ability of the patient, except where the disease is extremely dangerous, and his life valuable to the relations; in which case he raises his demands, and puts a higher price on his own services, under pretence of the great resentment of the fetiche, that must be appeased by liberal offerings[a]. If he recovers, either by virtue of nature's kindly assistance, or the efficacy of the medicines administered, the sacerdotal doctor is sure not to pass unrewarded.

Method of treating the sick.

Bosman relates, that the boys and slaves of an European, who has treated them kindly, will, when he is seized with the slightest indisposition, go secretly to the priests to make offerings for his health and recovery. The Europeans have frequently found, in the bed or in the chamber of the principal persons, certain things consecrated and charmed by the priest, laid there by the slaves to defend their master from death and evil spirits. As the Europeans are generally displeased with their superstition, they do it so artfully, and conceal it so well, that it is not easy to discover them before the patient is dead, and they have had no time to remove those charms. The Mulattoe women are particularly addicted to this superstition. If one of them is married, or kept by an European who uses her well, she never fails to make rich offerings for his recovery, with a warmer zeal, and stronger confidence in their success, than is found among the Negroes themselves; and Bosman alleges, that even the Europeans are not wholly untainted with this absurd and ridiculous credulity; for they have been known not only to make presents to priests upon their illness, but to wear

[a] Bosman, Epist. 13. Artus, in Collect. per De Brury, part. vi. p. 90.

certain

certain charms, given them by the Negroes as preventive medicines [b].

Medicines used by the Negroes.

The chief medicaments used by the Negroes are, lime juice, malaguet or cardamoms, the roots, branches, leaves, bark, and gums of trees, and about thirty different kinds of green herbs. These constitute the whole of their dispensatory; and the latter in particular have been found, from repeated experience, wonderfully powerful in many cases. Their practice, says Bosman, may to a philosopher appear absurd and irrational, but success is the test of its rectitude. He has seen them in colics administer whole calabashes of lime-juice and cardamoms, with surprising success; and affirms, that with green herbs he has known them effect cures, and conquer diseases, that have foiled all the art of the most experienced European surgeons: hence he greatly laments that no botanist has applied himself to this kind of practice, which he thinks more homogeneal to their constitutions in warm climates, than chemical medicines sent from Europe, and deprived of their virtues before they arrive in Africa [c].

Inquiries concerning the death of the patient.

When all the arts of the priest and doctor have proved ineffectual, and the patient dies, his relations are furnished with fresh business; they now are to enquire into his death, and why he should die: for though it is probable and apparent that he died a natural death, or of wounds, yet will not this satisfy them; it must certainly, in their opinion, proceed from some other cause. Immediately the priest and relations enquire, whether ever the deceased forswore himself, or was perjured: if he has, then the difficulty is solved, and the cause of his death discovered, which is no other than a punishment of his perjury. But should he be acquitted of this, then the next inquest is, whether he had any powerful enemies, who might have laid the fetiche under a promise by large offerings? This discovery being made, some of his enemies are immediately attacked, secured, and closely examined, and if they be found guilty, severely punished, either by fine, or some corporeal penalty; the latter being most common when the relations of the deceased are rich, and the former when they are poor, and the delinquent affluent. We cannot omit the following relation given by Bosman: when he resided at Axim, he was advised, in order to promote the company's affairs, to send an envoy

[b] Bosman, Epist. 13. [c] Idem, ibid.

to the king of Dinkira. In consequence, he dispatched one of his servants with handsome presents to the monarch, who graciously received them. About the same time, the Brandenburghers were soliciting his majesty by their president for similar favours. During the stay of both envoys at court, the king died, and his relations secured both the German and Hollander, imagining they had been the instruments of his death. They were seized, bound, and closely examined whether the presents they had delivered were not poisoned or charmed; but after the most scrupulous inquiry, the suspected ambassadors were found innocent, released, and dismissed with presents to their several constituents [d].

When the patient dies, and no room is found for attributing his death either to poison or incantation, then the wives, children, and slaves are examined, whether he has been attended with due care, and if the necessary offerings have been made. As the priest always presides at those inquests, he has a fair opportunity of punishing those who have been frugal in their donations. Should no deficiency appear either in care, attendance, or offerings, then, as the last resource, they resolve the difficulty, by attributing his death to his neglect of religious duties, and the performance of those rites which alone can prolong life. Such are the customs among the Negroes; in many of which we see a rational end, although the means used be ridiculous and absurd [e].

Questions put to the deceased.

After all the above methods have been found ineffectual to account for the cause of the patient's death, the priest goes to the body, and interrogates the defunct concerning the reason of his dying, and causing so much grief to his friends and relations. He returns to them, who are assembled in another apartment, with such an answer as best suits his interest; every syllable of which is believed, and matters are adjusted accordingly. Some authors affirm, that the relations directly apply for a solution of doubtful cases to the devil; but Bosman and Barbot assure us, that this is a false conjecture, all being referred to the priest, who is the mediator between their gods and them, and the interpreter of all oracles delivered by the former.

Modes of mourning, or ceremonies previous to the funeral.

No sooner the patient breathes his last, than all his relations, male and female, set up a dreadful howling and lamentation; by which it is soon known all over the town

[d] Bosman, Ep. 13. [e] Artus, ubi supra, p. 102.

or

or village, that some person is dead. They place the body upon a mat, made of the bark of trees, and wrapped in some old cotton cloths; under the head they set a block of wood, and cover the face with a goat's or sheep's skin. Over the body they strew ashes, made from burnt wood; custom forbidding them to cast their eyes on the body, before it is set out in this manner: the defunct is brought in this situation into the open air, some of the women, of whom in his life-time he was fondest, being placed at his head; if the deceased be a female, the husband, father, brother, or uncle, performs this office, shedding abundance of tears, and heaving dismal groans. All the relations assemble from every part of the country to attend at this last office; a severe punishment being aenexed to their neglect. The town's people and acquaintance of the deceased join their lamentions, each bringing his present of gold, cloth, brandy, wine, or animal food, which they pretend is buried with the corpse; and the larger the present is, the more honour redounds to the donor. The oldest female belonging to the family goes round the company, with a copper bason in her hand, to collect contributions towards the expence of the funeral. Here all the money is thrown in, while presents of another kind are put into baskets prepared for the occasion. A great part of these presents goes to the fetichere or priest, to obtain by his prayers and conjurations repose for the soul of the defunct, and protection of the fetiches in his passage to the other world. Hence we may perceive the notions the Negroes entertain concerning a future state.

A continuation of the funeral ceremonies.

During all the offices performed by this assembly, there is one that is never omitted: brandy in the morning, and palm-wine in the afternoon, are always remembered. Thus the last obsequies of a rich Negro become very expensive; for besides all that precedes, the body is richly clothed, and put into the coffin with a bag of gold fetiches, the finest corals, conte de terra, and several things of value, which it is supposed will be useful to him in the next world. The number of jewels, and all other expences, are proportioned to the wealth the deceased left to his heirs. After this assembly of relations and friends have continued to drink brandy and palm-wine for two or three days, and all the other requisite ceremonies are finished, then at last the corpse is carried to the grave, preceded by a number of young fellows, who are continually discharging vollies of small arms, till the deceased is laid in the ground. A multitude of men and women

follow, without preferving the leaft order, fome dancing, fome finging, or crying, or laughing. After the corpfe is covered, and the grave filled, every one departs where he pleafes; but the greater number ufually adjourn to the houfe of the deceafed, there to prolong their mirth and feafting.

When a king, chief, governor, or any diftinguifhed perfonage dies, his body is generally kept a year above ground; and to preferve it from putrefaction, it is laid over a gentle fire, upon a wooden utenfil, refembling a gridiron, to dry by flow degrees. Others inter their dead privately in their own houfes, though they pretend that the body has undergone the above operation, and that in due time they will fee the funeral obfequies performed with the neceffary pomp. Public notice is given of the day appointed for a king's burial, not only to his own fubjects, but to the neighbouring kingdoms, which occafions a concourfe of all nations almoft incredible. Every one is curious to fee the folemnity; he appears in his richeft drefs, and more pomp and parade paffes upon this occafion than in whole centuries upon any other. Several flaves of the deceafed monarch are facrificed, in order to attend him to the next world, and efpecially his boffum and favourite woman. But the moft abominable rite is, the practice of felling thofe, who through age and infirmity have been rendered incapable of labour, to become victims in thofe horrible folemnities. It is a fpectacle the moft deplorable, to fee thofe feeble wretches, pierced, hacked, and tormented in the moft barbarous manner, from motives of religion and piety. Bofman relates, that it was not without horror he faw eleven perfons killed in this manner. Among thefe was one, who, after having endured the moft keen and exquifite tortures, was delivered over to a child of fix years of age, to have his head cut off: nothing could be more horrid and barbarous, than to fee this young favage hewing and mangling for an hour the body of the unhappy victim, with as little remorfe as a butcher feels over his ordinary employment. Thefe facrifices are generally ufed in countries diftant from the European forts, and where they have but little influence; though the natives of the coaft will often remove at a diftance, in order to perform unmolefted this horrible ritual, to which they are fo warmly attached [f].

The Negroes ufually build a little hut, or elfe plant a little garden of rice or maize upon the grave, into which

[f] Idem, ibid. etiam Barbot, p. 287.

they

they throw all the effects of the deceased, of the least value to his heirs; for Bosman denies that they fill it with household furniture, as some authors assert. At Axim, they place several earthen images on the grave, which are washed the following year, and the whole funeral ceremony repeated with great expence. We have before mentioned the eager desire which the natives of Benin have to be buried in their own country; nor is this custom peculiar to them, it is the general way of thinking among all the Negroes. If they should happen to die in a distant country, where no opportunity offers of conveying the whole body home, their friends will cut off the head, leg, and arm, cleanse, boil, and send it to their native country to be buried; and if no conveyance presents itself, they esteem it a duty to neglect their business, and go themselves on the pious errand [g].

Orations pronounced over the dead.

It sometimes happens that the funeral of a Negro is attended by an orator, who sets forth the virtues of the deceased in an harangue pronounced over the grave.

Slaves not buried.

In some countries they do not bestow the honour of burial on slaves, but their bodies are thrown upon the fields, a prey to beasts and birds; in some other countries they cover them with earth, but without any ceremony.

As to the religion of the Gold Coast, it is divided into a variety of sects, proportioned to the number of nations, we may say families, on the coast; for there is hardly a person that has not his own peculiar mode of thinking on this subject. However, as it would be endless to recite every particular opinion, we shall speak only of those public forms in which all the Negroes agree.

The Negroes believe in the true God, the Creator of the world.

They almost all to a man believe in one true God, the Creator of the world; his omnipotence being the only attribute of the Deity, of which they have a distinct idea. Bosman believes, that they are obliged to the Europeans for their idea of the true God; and his reasons are, that they never make any offerings to him, or invoke him in their distress; which, in his opinion, is a presumptive proof that they had other gods before they acquired any idea of the true God, and that they believe their fetiches more interested in human affairs, as they apply to them in all their difficulties. He offers another reason, of which, we must acknowlege, we do not perceive the force: this is, the variety of opinions maintained concerning the crea-

[g] Artus, ubi supra, p. 105.

tion; some believing that the world was formed by Ananfci, or *a great spider*; others attributing it, and particularly man's creation, to God [h].

To several questions which Artus proposed to them concerning the Deity, they replied, that he was black, but mischievous, taking pleasure in inflicting them with a thousand evils. God is partial, they imagine, to the Europeans, and treats them as his own children. In particular, he is kinder to the Dutch than to them; else why does he give them fine cloaths, silks, ivory, and brandy? Artus told them, that it was plain the Deity did not neglect them by his bestowing on them gold, palm-wine, fruits, cows, goats, fowls, and fish; but he found it impossible to convince them, that these were God's gifts. The earth, say they, gives gold, if we take the trouble of digging it; it likewise furnishes corn, wine, and fruits, if we cultivate them. The beasts of the field beget each other without God's assistance; and the sea produces fish; but before we can use any of them, we are forced to toil and labour, without which we might starve; consequently we owe no obligation to God. However, they acknowlege that rain is sent by God, without which the earth would produce nothing; he is therefore the means, not the cause, of those good things. With all their advantages, they believe themselves very hardly treated, and not upon a footing with Europeans, who abound in such a variety of merchandize, which, in their opinion, grow up without trouble or labour, as gold does in Africa [i].

The ideas the Negroes entertain of the Supreme Being.

There are a number of Negroes, who believe in two supreme deities, the one white, whom they call bossum, the other black, and by them called jangu man, or the *good man*. Des Marchais and Labat scruple not to affirm, that the devil has established a real empire in the minds of the Negroes, and that his power is by no means owing either to their credulity or ignorance [k].

Dapper says, that the Negroes sacrifice and make offerings immediately to the devil; but Bosman affirms, that all their devotion is paid to the priest, the mediator between them and their divinities. Nothing religious is undertaken without the priest. When they are inclined to make offerings to their idols, they cry, let us make fetiche; by which they express as much as, let us see or hear what

[h] Artus, apud De Bruy, p. 41, & seq. Bosman, Epist. 10.
[i] Artus, ubi supra. [k] Des Marchais, tom. i. p. 300. Labat, tom. ii. p. 55.

our

our God faith through the mouth of his ſervant, the fetichere or prieſt. If they are injured, the fetichere is employed to procure vengeance, by exorciſing certain victuals and drink, which they ſtrew in the way of the enemy, firmly believing, that he who taſtes of it ſhall ſurely die ſoon after. If the perſon for whom the ſnare is laid is by any means appriſed of it, and under the neceſſity of paſſing that road, he orders himſelf to be carried over the food ſo exorciſed, knowing that the charm loſes its virtue by avoiding to touch it, and is quite innocent with reſpect to every other perſon. If a Negro is robbed, he makes uſe of ſimilar means for the diſcovery, and condign puniſhment of the criminal; and ſo obſtinately bigotted are they in believing the efficacy of this method, that a hundred inſtances produced of its impotence, would not alter their ſentiments. Yet if any perſon is taken in the act of laying the charm, he is puniſhed with death, whatever be the nature of the injury he has received. Thus we ſee a cuſtom univerſally prevail in a country, though it be contrary to law, by which the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution run counter to each other [1].

Of the obligatory draught.

All promiſes of importance and obligatory oaths, are confirmed by drinking an obligatory draught. It is uſually accompanied with an imprecation, that the fetiche may deſtroy them if they fail in the performance of their promiſe, or the ſmalleſt tittle of their engagements; and every perſon entering into any obligation muſt go through the ceremony of ſwallowing the draught; the ſpectators judging by the facility with which it paſſes down, whether he is diſpoſed or able to execute what he has undertaken. When one nation is hired or engaged by treaty to aſſiſt another, all the chiefs drink this liquor, which, we are told, is nothing more than the pure element of water, with an imprecation, that the fetiche may abandon them, if they do not aſſiſt with their utmoſt force to extirpate the enemy: but oaths of this nature have been ſo frequently violated by nations and individuals, that they are fallen into diſrepute. Beſides, the Negroes have contrived a ſubterfuge, and method of abſolving themſelves from the obligation, nay, even for taking the money or effects of the oppoſite party, and acting diametrically contrary to their engagements. On this occaſion they employ the prieſt, their great inſtrument of all fraud and impoſture: for having en-

[1] Dapper apud Prevoſt, tom. v. p. 243.

tered

tered upon the obligation before him, they doubt not but he has the power of absolution as well as punishment in his hands. A bribe gains him over; and thus they make a traffick of honour, honesty, and conscience [m].

If a Negro is interrogated about the consequence of falsifying such an oath, his reply is, that the perjured person shall be swelled with the liquor till he bursts; or, if he should escape that, a no less sure though slower punishment will follow, by means of some chronical, languishing, and wasting disease. The first generally happens to women, who purge themselves by a false oath of an accusation of adultery; the latter to men in cases of thievery, robbery, and breach of trust; for in all these instances it is used by way of purgation as well as obligation. In a word, the methods of making religion subservient to the worst of purposes are so various and numerous, that a recital of them would equally shock and fatigue the reader; we shall therefore content ourselves with relating the following, affirmed the most sacred and solemn of all oaths.

Another form of obligatory oath.

Every priest hath his peculiar idol, prepared and adjusted in a manner peculiar to himself, and agreeable to his own fancy; but this form is almost general: a large wooden pipe is filled with hair, blood, feathers, oil, earth, human and brute bones, as well as all kinds of filth, dirt, and excrements. Directly opposite to this pipe the Negro to be sworn is placed, who asks the name of the idol, for each has its appellation. When he is made acquainted with this particular, he recites at large the contents of the obligation he is to take upon him, calling the fetiche by its name, and making it his request, that the idol may punish him with death if he does not fulfil his vow, or if he swears falsly. Then going round to the other extremity of the pipe, he repeats the oath, after which he returns to the place where he first stood, and recites it a third time. This done, the priest takes some of the above ingredients out of the pipe, with which he besmears the juror's head, arms, belly, and legs; and holding the remainder over his head he gives it three whirls round, taking the utmost care that not a particle shall fall. He then cuts off a bit of the nail of a finger of each hand, and a toe of each foot, together with a lock of hair from the head, all which he puts into the pipe, and closes the ceremony [n].

When the Negroes propose engaging in a war, a journey, a bargain, or any business of importance, they first

[m] Bosman, Epist. 10. [n] Idem ibid.

consult

consult their gods, by means of their common mediator, the priest, concerning the event of their undertaking. Those oracles are generally wrapt up in great obscurities, and capable, like those of Delphos, of being interpreted according to the fancy of the enquirer; but should they ever happen to be clear and explicit, then they never fail of being favourable. In this case the grateful votary can do no less than express his thanks by liberal presents to the priest; sheep, hogs, fowls, dogs, cats, and gold, are offered up to the idol, in trust with his minister the priest, who, like the ministers of earthly sovereigns, is sure of not failing to obey the first principle of nature, self-interest. If the priest be determined to oblige the consultor in a particular manner, the questions are put to the idol in his presence, and usually in one of the two following methods. The first way is by a bundle of about twenty small bits of leather, in the middle of which are contained materials of the same nature as they use in the pipes. Some of these ingredients indicate good, some bad fortune. This bundle the priest shuffles into a variety of forms, and if the same ingredients occur frequently, then the inquirer's fate is clear, and he is perfectly assured of his future fortune. Here, however, the priest acts with his usual address; for by habit he acquires such a slight of hand, that he turns up which of the ingredients he has a mind; and if he ever gives a discouraging response, it is only with a view of extorting larger offerings to appease the incensed deity [o].

The Negroes consult the fetiche in all cases of importance.

The second method of consulting their deities is by a sort of a wild chesnut, a handful of which they take up, and let fall again, as if by accident. Hence the priest draws his predictions by the number falling, whether even or odd. Should the event falsify the prediction, the crafty priest is never at a loss for an excuse to palliate his knavery; either the sacred rites were not duly performed; some part was hurried carelesly over, or wholly omitted; the god is enraged, and the business crossed and unsuccessful. All this is believed with an astonishing credulity; the people themselves being ingenious in finding sufficient excuses for the priest. He is never accused of falshood; and if the nation be ruined, his reputation remains secure, untouched, and in the highest credit; but should his prediction be verified by the event, then he is a holy and divine man, his character is raised to the highest pinnacle of fame, and his

o Barbot, p. 304.

veracity

veracity so far above the reach of malice, that he may lie his whole life after.

Public religious ceremonies.

Public religious exercises of a whole nation are usual upon account of droughts, floods, barren and unhealthy seasons, on which occasions the governors and chief men repair to their idols with offerings, either for the public good, or their own particular affairs. Those ceremonies are performed in groves, which are held so sacred, that to defile them by any natural evacuation of the body, to cut, pluck, or injure the smallest twig is highly criminal, and punished with, at least, a malediction, and the censure of the priests, which, in its effects, is not less severe than a popish anathema. When the chiefs of a town or nation assemble, they consult the priests what measures are the most likely to remove the public calamities, squaring their conduct scrupulously by their counsel, and publishing their decrees by a crier. Whoever presumes to act contrary to this order is punished without mercy, it being even capital on some occasions to disobey the ecclesiastical power. When their fisheries are on the decline, about August and September, the priests enjoin offerings to be made to the sea, this being the time when great shoals of fish arrive on the coast; and yet, so absurdly blind is superstition, that the whole is attributed to the pious endeavours of the priest [p].

Every Negro hath its peculiar fetiche.

Every individual in Guinea hath his peculiar fetiche, which he worships on that day of the week when he happened to be born. This day they call their bossum, or, in Portuguese, their sancte day, on which they drink no palm-wine before sun-set. On this day they are dressed in white, and, as an emblem of their purity, besmear their bodies and cloaths with a kind of white loam or clay. Those of the better fashion, and especially the chiefs of the people, have besides this birth-day another weekly festival, dedicated to their fetiches, on which they kill a cock or a sheep, a sacrifice merely nominal with respect to the gods, for it is consumed by the priests. Bosman says, indeed, that it is made a public feast, of which the priest enjoys no more than he can eat at that meal. The whole mutton is put down to the fire, and every man eats as he thinks proper, little regard being had to cleanliness or ceremony. The guts in particular, cleansed only by squeezing out the excrements with their fingers, are esteemed a delicious regale when boiled in water, with a little salt and Guinea

p Villault, & Barbot, p. 302.

pepper.

pepper. This they call ejutjeba, and look upon as the highest luxury in eating, and most exquisite dainty that can be offered to the palate.

The word fetiche in a strict sense signifies whatever represents their divinities; but the precise ideas of the Negroes concerning their lesser gods, their dii minores, are not well adjusted by authors, or even among the most sensible of themselves. They not only believe those material substances, their fetiches, endowed with intelligence, and the power of doing them good or evil, but also that the priest or fetichere, being of their council, is privy to all that those divinities know, and thence acquainted with the most secret thoughts and hidden actions of men. The houshold or family fetiche narrowly inspects the conduct of every individual of the house, and rewards and punishes according to his or her deserts. Their rewards consist in the multiplication of their wives and slaves, and the punishments in the want of these: though the most terrible of all punishments is death. It is this, indeed, that inflames their zeal in religious rites, and occasions their rigid abstinence from every sort of food prohibited by superstition, believing they should die in the act. Murder, adultery, stealth, and robbery, are comparatively but venial slips; nay, they are in a manner no sins at all, since they can be expiated by money; but the eating a species of food, forbidden in in the family, is a crime of so black a complexion, as admits of no atonement or compensation [q].

The great fetiche at Cape Coast.

At Cape Coast there is a public guardian fetiche, the highest in power and dignity. This exalted fetiche is a rock, that projects into the sea from the bottom of the cliff on which the castle is built, making a sort of cover for landing, but unsafe. A fleet of fishing canoes had been cast away by a strong southerly wind near this point, and the Negroes religiously attributed the calamity to some omission of the fleet to this divinity, called Tabra. The accident happening upon Tuesday, that day has ever since been kept holy, and set apart for idleness, singing, dancing, and riot. To this rock the priest sacrifices yearly a goat and some rum, eating and drinking a part of the sacrifice, and throwing the rest into the sea, with ridiculous gestures and strange invocations, assuring the spectators that he receives verbal answers from Tabra, what times and seasons will be propitious; and for this intelligence every fisherman presents him with an acknowlegement suited to his ability [r].

[q] Bos. Epist. 10. [r] Atkins, ubi supra.

Besides

Besides this superior fetiche, every separate canton or district has its peculiar fetiche, inferior to the Tabra of Cape Coast, but of a higher quality than the lares, or *domestic gods.* A mountain, a tree, a large rock, fish, or peculiar fowl, is raised to this high distinction, and the honour of being the national divinity. A Negro, who accidentally kills a fetiche, fowl or fish, is thought sufficiently punished by the horrid act; but an European who should do the same, would be supposed to have done it with design, and thence in great danger of his life.

Among trees the palm has the pre-eminence, this being always deified, and in particular that species of it called assoanam, because it is the most beautiful and numerous. One shall meet in every place a variety of those trees which bears the marks of their divinity; for every Negro that passes cuts off a small portion of the bark, which he forms into a bracelet or girdle, as an infallible preservative. They are persuaded, that cutting down an assoanam tree would be attended with a dearth of fruit for that season, and immediate bad consequences to themselves; and in 1589, ten Dutchmen were massacred for an action of this nature.

The notions the Negroes have of a future state.

The ideas the Negroes entertain of a future state are various. Some hold, that immediately upon the death of any person, he is removed into another world, where he assumes the very same character in which he lived in this, and supports himself by the offerings and sacrifices his friends make after his departure. Bosman affirms, that the greater number of Negroes have no idea of future rewards and punishments annexed to the good or evil actions of this life. A few, however, he allows to have some gross notions of future judgments, which consist in being wafted away to a famous river, situated in a distant inland country, called Bosmanque. Here their god interrogates them concerning the life they have led, whether they have religiously kept the holy days dedicated to the fetiche, abstained from all meats, and inviolably kept their oath? If they can answer truly in the affirmative, they are conveyed over the river to a land abounding in every felicity, luxury, and human delight. If, on the contrary, the departed hath sinned against any of the above capital pillars of their religion, then the god plunges him into the river, where he is buried in eternal oblivion. Others again believe in a kind of metempsychosis; that they shall be transported to the land of white men, altered to that complexion, and endowed with a soul similar to their's; but this is the doctrine

trine only of those who think highly of the intellectual faculties of the white men[s].

The inland Negroes tell the maritime Negroes, that, in a distant interior country, there lives a great fetichere, in a splendid house, a worker of extraordinary miracles, having even the elements at his command, changing the winds and weather at his pleasure, living in a house uncovered, yet always sheltered from the rain and night-dews, perfectly acquainted not only with all past occurrences, but foretelling future events with as much certainty as if they were before his eyes, and lastly, curing all manner of diseases. All persons in his vicinity are examined before him after death. Should their conduct appear unsatisfactory, he kills them a second time, with a large club that always lies before his door; but if their lives and conversation have been devout, pious, and exemplary, then he furnishes them with a passport to a state of true and perfect felicity. Hence proceeds the deep veneration in which they hold this priest, esteeming him little inferior to a god. So slily, indeed, has this arch-impostor insinuated a notion of his power into the minds of those simple wretches, that he lives in the pomp and affluence of royalty, and finds constant resources in the ample faith and blind ignorance of his simple votaries[t].

Their idea of the devil.

However, the Negroes are not ignorant of the devil, whom they believe a malicious, ill-natured, deceitful being, resembling a white man. Bosman denies that they pray or sacrifice to him, as most other authors have affirmed. Dapper in particular relates, that a Negro never drinks or eats but a portion of each is spit on the ground, for the use of this invisible being; and Bosman allows the practice; but asserts, that the purpose of it is an offering to the fetiche, or some deceased relation. Instead of having any kind of worship paid him, the devil is exorcised out of all their towns at stated festivals, and with abundance of ceremony. Barbot, Bosman, and Villault, had seen this ridiculous farce acted at Axim, where it is performed with the greatest ceremony. The procession is preceded by a feast of eight days, accompanied with singing, dancing and all manner of festivity. Pasquinades, lampoons, and satires, are now permitted: and the actions of their superiors laid open, with all freedom and exemption from punishment: nor have the great any other method of stopping the torrent of abuse, than by plying them heartily

[s] Bosman, Epist. 10. [t] Etiam Barbot, p. 302.

with

with liquor, which has the extraordinary quality of turning instantaneously the blackest vices into the purest virtues, satire into panegyric. On the eighth day, in the morning, the devil is hunted out of the town or village, by the whole body of inhabitants who are employed in throwing stakes, stones, dirt, and excrements at the fiend. After this expulsion, they return, and conclude the day with the same festivity with which they began.

A gigantic idol worshipped by the Negroes.

The Negroes of Ante likewise carry this ceremony to a great length; though they, miserable wretches, are harrassed with a worse fiend, whom they have raised to the dignity of a god. This god is a prodigious giant, having one side of his body sound, the other putrid and rotten, which, if any person chances to touch, he immediately falls down dead: an opinion the natives as firmly believe as they do their own existence. To appease him they are continually making him offerings; to which purpose thousands of vessels, filled with the best food the country affords, are daily presented to him, and the fœtid god wallows in profusion and luxury, while half his votaries starve, to enable them to perform their religious rites, and shew their gratitude to the god for doing nothing.

Their opinion of ghosts and spirits.

They are well assured of the reality of ghosts, spirits, and apparitions; that they walk up and down the earth, terrify, disturb, and beat people, especially the unbelievers. Thus, when a neighbour dies, the whole village is under the utmost dread and terrible apprehension, proceeding from an opinion, that the deceased appears for several nights successively about his late dwelling. Here the priest is likewise of importance, for he is supposed to have the power of appeasing the spirit, by means of certain rites and exorcisms, which, like all the others, conclude in his own emolument. Artus gives the following account of a ceremony peculiar to this occasion, although Barbot speaks of it as a rite in honour of the fetiche. On the day after the decease of any person of distinction, a square table, supported by pillars seven feet high, is erected near the house of the defunct; upon this is placed the fetiche of the family, surrounded with the best provisions the heirs can afford, and attended by the priest. As soon as the company have satisfied themselves as to the quality of provisions laid down, they retire for the day, and, returning at night, find all the victuals removed, which they attribute to the spirit, who, having provided himself with his viaticum, has now taken his flight to the other world.

Other

Other writers say, that most of the Negroes believe the fetiche has swept clean the table, doing honour to the feast by an extraordinary appetite which he procures for the occasion [u]. Atkins says, that the Negroes use circumcision, prayers, and ablutions, and seem to have an indistinct idea of futurity. They believe, that good men shall, after death, enjoy happiness, and bad men misery; that the former shall live with fine women upon luxurious diet; and the latter stroll vagrants round the earth, always in motion, always unhappy, never tasting repose or felicity.

Of the distinctions of time among the Negroes.

We shall conclude this article with some observations from Bosman concerning their equation of time, as they properly belong to the subject of religion. The Negroes, in general, have no solemn festivals, besides one at the conclusion of their harvest, which they call a fair, and that we have just related of exorcising the devil; nor have they any distinction or division of time, except what they have been taught by Europeans. Months and weeks were entirely unknown to them, their method of reckoning being by the shining of the moon, no matter whether in the change or in the quarters. Hence they determined their seasons for sowing the different kinds of grain. However, it is probable, that the division of time into weeks and days cannot be of very late date, as each have their peculiar names, which are perfectly familiar even to children. Their sabbath falls upon the Tuesday, except at Ante, where it happens on Friday, and differs from other days in nothing but that they abstain from fish, all other kinds of food and employments being permitted without any restraint [x].

The Negroes of the interior countries divide time into fortunate and unfortunate days. In some countries the great unfortunate days are nineteen; and the lesser, which differ from the other, seven. Between those intervene seven unfortunate days, which is a sort of vacation from all occupations and bodily labour. At Aquamboe these periods are observed with more superstition than in any other kingdom; for, besides ceasing from labour, they will even refuse to accept of presents made to them on these days, and look upon it as an affront upon them to make any proposition, however advantageous to their interest. They are entirely ignorant of the origin of these customs; but it is probable, that, like other superstitions,

[u] Bosm. Epist. 10. Barbot, p. 303. [x] Bosm. ibid.

Of the caboceroes.

The caboceroes, which we will venture to call the second class of the people, are usually composed of a certain number, limited only by custom. When the number is diminished by the death of one of the members, all the rest assemble, for the election of a successor, out of the elders of the nation; for young men are seldom admitted (B). The candidates make a present to the electors of a cow, or bullock, and a jar of palm-wine, if they have succeeded; otherwise their gratitude is proportioned to their ill fortune. At Axim, in particular, strangers are excluded from this dignity; and it is necessary not only that the candidate shall be a native of the country, but an inhabitant of the particular town for which he is chosen; at least, that he have a house in it, where some of his women reside constantly, and himself occasionally.

The method of raising common Negroes to the rank of nobility.

The third class of Negroes consists of the rich, those who have acquired fortunes by their industry, or possessed it by inheritance. Those who find themselves elevated to this rank, purchase seven small elephants teeth, which they form into wind-instruments, resembling a trumpet, obliging their children and slaves to learn the common tunes of the country upon these instruments. When they are tolerable proficients in music, the master gives notice to all his friends and relations, that he intends giving a public entertainment, and this message passes for an invitation. He himself, his children, women, and slaves, are dressed out with all the magnificence which his fortune will support, or vanity require; and if the latter should exceed the former, they borrow gold and coral ornaments from all their friends to help out the parade. They distribute presents, and the rejoicings continue for several days at a great expence; for which those wise masters believe themselves fully compensated, by the extraordinary privilege of blowing their trumpets at pleasure; a prerogative so cherished, that Negroes of inferior rank are obliged to ask their permission before they enjoy the supreme felicity of making a disagreeable noise. This is the ceremony of instalment, previous to which he must

(B) Upon this occasion it is that large jars, filled with water, are placed in the council-chamber for the electors; each leaps into his jar, and with his face over the brim, deliberates, chin deep in water, upon the affairs of their meeting. Villault has falsely ascribed this custom to the natives of Whidah (1).

(1) Vide L'Esprit, par M. Helvetius, tom. i. p. 72.

qualify

qualify himself, either by buying the honour, or by the following method. He must make a study of the science of arms, offensive and defensive, and pass a night armed at all points, remote from all society, as a proof that he fears no danger, and can support all manner of fatigue. After the instalment he gives a second entertainment, where he exhibits several astonishing proofs of his activity and prowess, amidst the applauses of those who are feasting upon his folly. His women, children, and slaves, appear in the same pomp as at the first festival; all his wealth is exposed to public view, and displayed in a variety of forms and situations, to excite the greater admiration. One agreeable circumstance attends this ostentatious exhibition; for here, instead of making presents, the master receives handsome returns for those he had formerly made, each of his friends striving who shall contribute the most towards making him the richest man of his quality. After all those proofs of his ability, he is honoured with the permission of wearing two shields in battle; a glorious and envied privilege, that belongs only to Negroes of the highest rank. In a word, there are different degrees of this set of nobility, distinguished by the different proofs they have given of their valour and address. A new made nobleman is presented to the king by some of the ancient nobility, attended by his friends, and the officers of the king's houshold: he prostrates himself at the feet of the monarch, remaining in that posture till the king has graciously condescended to bid him rise. After which his majesty, in a short speech, explains to him the nature of his elevation, and the duties annexed to his rank; he presents him with a drum, an ivory trumpet, and the privilege of trading with white men, a right peculiar to persons of rank and fashion [b]. Hence we see, that, by different forms of government, authors really meant no more than the degrees of subordination in the same government.

After his creation has been approved and confirmed by the king, he is carried all over the town upon the shoulders of his slaves, attended by the music of drums and other instruments. His women go before him singing and dancing, attended by their parents, relations, friends, and neighbours. This procession ends at his own house, into which he enters, attended by his family and a few friends, while the populace remain about the doors. A repast is

[b] Bosm. & Barbot, ibid.

ordered in a shady bower, erected for the occasion, where the nobility and gentlemen of the king's houshold, who assisted at the ceremony, are entertained. The diversions continue for four hours, the people are regaled with palm-wine and beef, and every ceremony of the instalment is finished at an expence of near two hundred marks of gold [c], or six thousand four hundred pounds sterling (C).

The great expence that attends an instalment.

The nobility have granted them upon their creation, a painting of a bull's head, done in the slovenly manner of the country, on which are drawn emblems of the different privileges they enjoy, in consequence of their being ennobled. The chief of these are, the right of carrying two bucklers in the field, of selling slaves, and trading with the Europeans. Nothing can equal the pride of one of those upstart peers; he is continually boasting of his rank to strangers, and insulting his inferiors, although it frequently happens, that the expence attending the profuse entertainments which he sacrificed to his vanity, has reduced him to his primitive poverty, and obliged him for sustenance to apply to some servile employment [d].

The nobility of the Gold Coast are united into a kind of society, and keep an annual feast, to which every nobleman invites his friend, among whom are frequently some of the inland nobility. Here the bull's head escutcheon is produced, the utmost ostentation of their grandeur is set forth, new fetiches and new ornaments are prepared, and nothing omitted that can recall the remembrance of their promotion, or shew how well they support their dignity. On this day they paint their bodies red and white, and wear about their necks collars made of leaves, as emblems of their quality, and they conclude the evening at the viceroy's or governor's, who gives them a splendid entertainment.

Bosman relates, that the royal government is supported rather by force than authority, the respect of the people being proportioned to the number of the king's slaves, and the greatness of his wealth. Without those two essential

[c] Villault. p. 236. [d] Artus, apud de Bruy. vi. 42.

(C) Artus and some other writers greatly reduce this sum, and, indeed, with a great appearance of truth. According to them, the expence amounts to eight bandas, or a pound of gold; and, if the presents they receive are deducted and discretion observed, it seldom exceeds five pounds sterling (1).

(1) Artus apud De Bruy, par. 6. p. 86.

appen-

appendages of royalty, they find but little submission from their subjects, and are forced to pay them for the smallest services. On the contrary, when their kings are rich and powerful, no people on earth pay a more servile homage to their governors, whom they elevate above all law and control. Their wealth they increase by the most rapacious exactions and tyrannical oppression, while the people quietly submit to every imposition and violence. The smallest crimes, the least offence given to majesty, are punished by an exorbitant fine, and many Negroes of rank have been chastised so severely for venial trespasses, that to the end of their lives they maintained the strongest resentment against their kings [f].

The despotic power of rich kings.

Liberality is a virtue greatly esteemed in Negro sovereigns, and they generally exercise it with so little moderation, that the first entertainments they give cost a year's revenue. All the officers, counsellors, and nobility of the kingdom are invited; and the king buys up all the palm-wine, beef, and mutton, that the markets can supply, to treat the people; joy and festivity reign in every village, the whole kingdom is filled with riotous mirth, and the meanest cottage on this occasion overflows with plenty. After this solemnity, the heads of all the sheep and oxen, slaughtered for the festival, are deposited in a certain apartment of the palace, and drawings are made from them, which are presented to the nobility and gentry, as monuments of the king's wealth and generosity. The sovereigns have likewise an annual festival, which they call the coronation feast, to which they invite not only the great men of their own dominions, but the kings and nobility of neighbouring countries: no expence is regarded; dancing, music, wine, and good cheer, are the amusements of every nation that chooses to partake of the feast. Each of the kings gives the entertainment in his turn, taking care that the festival shall not happen upon the same day in any two kingdoms; and upon this occasion it is that the king sacrifices to the great fetiches [g]: yet, whatever their state and grandeur may be on these occasions, nothing can equal the simplicity of their private lives. Here no guards are placed at their gates, no woman forced into their embraces; if they appear abroad, it is without any other attendants than two or three slaves, one of whom carries his sword, and the others his stool or chair, which always follows him. Those who meet them pay

[f] Bosman, Epist. 11. [g] Ibid.

them no marks of respect, and the meanest slave would not move a foot out of his way, to give the king a free passage: but when their visits are made out of the towns where they reside, and to any person of distinction, then they put on majesty, and appear with the dignity of kings, and all the splendor of crowned heads; they are then attended by a grand retinue, and a strong body of troops, they carry shields, swords, and all manner of weapons to defend them from insults, to inspire awe, and strike the people with high notions of their power; but in their own towns they are so meanly clothed, as scarce to be distinguishable from their lowest slaves: nor is this simplicity surprising, if we consider the expences attending their donations, public exhibitions, and the narrow limits of their dominions Bread, oil, and a little stinking fish, make up the bill of fare of a prince, as well as a peasant; water is their common drink; but if the royal cellars afford it, they regale themselves with a dram of aqua vitæ in the morning, and palm-wine at night[h].

Their familiarity with their subjects.

When the palm-wine comes in first from the interior countries, all the Negroes, kings, masters, and slaves, meet together in the market-place, where they sit down upon the ground, or on little stools they bring along with them, in the most sociable and familiar manner. Every man that pleases, joins himself to the company, and as they proceed in their cups, their good humour increases. They delight in drinking full bumpers, and quaffing at one draught a pint of palm-wine, which they esteem a manly action. Bosman compares the confused noise and tumult that succeeds, to the Jewish synagogue at Amsterdam; all kinds of subjects being debated at one time, and every mouth in the company open. In general, however, the topics of conversation are not of the most grave or serious nature; obscenity, coarse raillery, and lewd wit, constitute the chief part of the entertainment, even before the women, who are by no means delicate or deficient in their jokes; nor is it even thought unbecoming in a lady of the first fashion to display this talent.

The kings hire out their troops.

A Negro king is always ready to turn out his troops in the service of a neighbouring king, as the greater part of the subsidy goes into his own pockets. It is true, after the money is paid, he is not very scrupulous about the performance of his engagements; his only care is not to hurt his credit so far as to prevent their entering upon future

[h] Barbot, 309, 310.

bargains

bargains with him; in which respect he is no less alert than an European minister, his excuses being always ingenious and probable: nor is a king less desirous of being chosen umpire between two contending powers; for here he receives bribes from both parties, at the same time that he is serving neither; for his business is to keep the breach open, to protract the negociation, and put money in his coffers. Hence arise their chief finances, the national revenue being in general small; Bosman has known a king so poor, that he could not raise the price of a bottle of rum or arrack [k].

The education of princes.

As to the education of the royal family, it differs but little, according to the above author, from that of the poorest subjects. When a prince arrives at a proper age, he makes choice of some profession for his support, such as husbandry, or fishing, or making wine; nor are they ashamed themselves to carry to market the produce of their labour; yet are they respected as the king's children, and the heirs apparent to the throne. It is common here to see a man taken from the plough-tail to wield a sceptre; and he who yesterday was driving a flock of sheep, shall today be at the head of an army. As for the princesses, they are bred to the same employments as the princes; with this difference, that they seldom take to fishing. In general, they are bred to husbandry, unless the pride of their birth makes them desirous of a profession better suited to their rank; and if they are less rich than ladies of the same quality in Europe, they are not less happy, the small number of their wants being a full compensation for the less degree of wealth. They marry without regard to birth or family; nor is a match between a princess and a slave esteemed at all unnatural or extraordinary. One circumstance that renders those matches of less consequence is, that the children inherit by the mother, and enjoy freedom, though the father be a slave. Artus affirms, that kings dare make no provision for their children, and that for two reasons; the first is, that having no family to aggrandize, he is the less likely to be covetous; and the second arises from the policy of the nobles, who find it their interest to oppress the royal children, in order that they themselves may approach nearer the throne [l]. Each of them has his designs upon the crown, and hence proceed their endeavours to render themselves popular. In marrying their daughters, the kings demand no other

[k] Barbot, ibid. [l] Apud De Bruy, p. 45, 46.

terms,

terms, than that they have a slave or two to attend them, in order to distinguish their being of royal birth: however, as this is the only advantage of which those ladies can boast, they generally fall in contempt when their beauty is faded, unless they have had industry enough to increase their fortunes in their youth. In a word, the only method the king has to provide for his younger children, is by sending them upon embassies, or giving them up as hostages on the conclusion of a war, in hopes that chance may call them to a foreign crown when their birth is known. At Commendo, indeed, they procure the most lucrative and honourable posts of the realm, such as fatyra, or *captain of the guard*, which often paves the way for their mounting the throne upon the death of the king [m].

An account of the state officers.

We shall now proceed to the grand officers of the court, who hold their employments during the king's pleasure; as the braffo, the ensign or sword bearer; the tie-ti, or the public crier of the court; king's herald, the governor of the king's women, the horn-blower, or drummer and trumpeter. Barbot, however, observes, that some courts have officers of a higher rank and authority, different from any of these; such is the di at Fetu, who is the king's lieutenant and assistant when present, and his representative when absent. He has besides, a grand-treasurer, and a fatyra, or captain of the guard. As to the proper employments of each, we do not find them very correctly described by authors; the braffo, they say, is a kind of marefchal, who leads the van of the army, and always begins the charge. The fatyra, or captain of the guard, is entrusted with the care of the king's person: he accompanies him upon all his expeditions, parties, and excursions; and being thus constantly in his presence, he acquires a consideration and consequence that often enable him to succeed his master. The office of sword-bearer is usually divided among four great persons, who carry not only the sword, but all his majesty's armour, to public festivals and warlike expeditions. This is a post by no means contemptible; and what adds to its importance is, that from this office the king generally chooses his ambassadors. The guardians of the king's women are represented by Bosman as the highest officers of the houshold. Their proper office is, to watch over the virtue and chastity of the women, to be careful that their affections wander not from his majesty's person: they are also keepers of the

[m] Artus, ibid. Bosman, Epist. 11.

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king's privy purse, and are the only persons who can give an account of his wealth, when the king dies. The tie-ti, or herald's office, is to publish all the king's edicts and ordinances, to make proclamation of all things stolen or lost, to defend the king from flies by a kind of flapper, made of an elephant's tail and rushes, and to prevent all tumults and mobs in the roads through which his majesty is to pass: he wears a cap of a black ape's skin, the hair of which is about the length of one's finger, so that he might be mistaken for the king's jester, rather than his herald; nor is the office of drummer less lucrative than honourable, because he constantly attends the king, and receives his commands from his own mouth. The trumpeters are the lowest officers of the court [n].

Courts of justice.

The judges, or the supreme officers of the courts of justice, are chosen, both in monarchies and republics, out of the most considerable persons in the nation for wealth and influence; from the brassos, the caboceroes, the governors of towns and villages, assisted by the priests, who are a kind of assessors. To these officers of justice belongs the decision of all causes, civil and criminal: however, their verdict is not unalterable, but that party who thinks himself aggrieved may appeal to the king, as the dernier resort. Those appeals are not common; but when they happen, his majesty appoints commissioners for the revisal of the suit, who take the appellation of enes, are invested with all the authority the king is able to communicate, make circuits to appease and heal differences, and give final decisions in all causes. In a word, their office greatly resembles the consultation of our twelve judges. Artus relates the process of civil and criminal suits in monarchies. If they cannot be terminated by gentle means, the parties present themselves to the viceroy or governor of the town, and submit to his arbitration. If the plaintiff only appears, the governor summons the defendant by a slave, in order that he may answer to the charge; each pleads his own cause, during which, the other is not permitted to interrupt him. After the cause has been deliberately debated upon both sides, and the governor has thoroughly entered into the merits of the case, he proceeds to pass sentence with great gravity: but if it be an affair læsæ majestatis, or petty treason, then a fine is adjudged, and the offender obliged to pay it before he leaves the court, or otherwise be committed to prison. In difficult cases, and where the

[n] Villault, p. 179. 183. Barbot, p. 311.

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[n] Villault, p. 179. 183. Barbot, p. 311.

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animosity of the parties runs high, the governor not caring to determine upon it, leaves the whole to the decision of a single combat: each party is attended to the field by a body of friends, who are spectators of the fight, which generally ends in the death of one of the combatants; and then the friends of the deceased unite together to procure revenge; nor can any thing exceed the rancour they shew on this occasion; no submissions, no acknowlegements will be accepted; blood must answer for blood; and the smallest satisfaction they expect is, that the party offending shall go into voluntary banishment or slavery; nay, it has been known, they have persecuted them in foreign countries, and purchased them from masters to whom they have enslaved themselves, only to have the satisfaction of putting them to the most excruciating torments. Those duels but seldom occur; for though the hatred and rancour of the parties be mortal, yet their courage is generally faint; and the friends, who know that they must necessarily be involved in the quarrel if one of the combatants be killed, take every possible precaution to prevent the effusion of blood.

Such as have violated the king's edicts must pay a certain fine, or banish themselves out of the kingdom. A Negro who has discovered his neighbour guilty of this crime, often dissembles the fact for whole years, till he has received some injury or affront from him. He then immediately goes to the governor, and makes deposition of the action; in consequence of which, notice is given by the beat of a drum, that an important cause is to be tried. All the inhabitants assemble, the women taking their seats in a part of the court distinct from the men; the governor appears guarded by a body of troops, and takes his seat. If the accused be present, he is immediately arrested, sent to the governor's house, and loaded with chains, if the proofs turn out clear against him; otherwise he is given in charge to a slave, who never loses sight of him till sentence is passed. The governor, after examining all the circumstances, and weighing them duly, assisted by the advice of all the nobles and elders of the town, goes and lays before the prisoner all the proofs. Should his reply be unsatisfactory, he is convicted, and adjudged to pay a fine in court; but if he prove insolent, he becomes the king's slave, and is immediately sold to make up the fine *.

* Villault, Bosman, & Barbot, in loc. citat.

War

War is declared by the Negroes either from views of revenge, ambition, or plunder, or as auxiliaries to some injured neighbouring state, or, what is the most common, for a subsidy, in which the auxiliaries, as well as the principals, declare war in form. Many wars are entered upon for the recovery of private debts, an insolvent having taken refuge in a foreign state, or a foreign merchant refusing to pay a just debt, or at least making payment tedious. In this case the creditor seizes as many goods, freemen, or slaves, in the country of the debtor, as will satisfy his demand. If the debtor be a man of integrity, he will endeavour to buy the liberty of his countrymen so unjustly seized; otherwise the friends of the sufferers are left to retaliate, which they never fail doing; and thus a war is brought on from the quarrel of two private individuals; and nations, that but a little before lived in the strictest amity, now engage in the most bitter enmity, which continues till one of them is subdued and destroyed; or, if their strength be equal, till peace is brought about by the more moderate leading men of both countries. As the soldiers serve without pay, they soon grow weary of a rupture that produces nothing but glory, and plunder alone it is that can induce them to keep the field for any continuance. *Causes of entering upon war.*

When war is projected in the king's council, a general assembly of the nobility is summoned, and matters debated with great deliberation; a list of the men fit to bear arms is made out, and a scrupulous enquiry into the state of the national treasure. An army is instantly raised, and a sudden incursion made into the enemy's country, where, after some advantage gained, war is proclaimed; for it is a constant maxim with the Negroes, that the first blow is more than half the battle. Their wars, indeed, are carried on at a small expence: the most powerful ally may be purchased at the expence of two thousand pounds, and when once he is engaged, he soon acts as a principal, except where a very politic prince sits at the helm.

In their engagements no order or discipline is observed: each commander is encircled by his troops in a kind of mob, so that they push on one heap of men opposed to another: sometimes, indeed, they are drawn up in lines, but this order the fury of some, and cowardice of others, soon disconcerts. They do not stand erect in the field, but load and discharge stooping low, that the enemy's shot may fly over their heads; and, indeed, so bad levellers and marksmen are the Negro soldiers, that few of their balls take *Their manner of fighting.*

take place: others again creep close to the enemy, discharge their pieces, and then fly off with incredible velocity, so quick indeed, says Barbot, that a ball or arrow cannot overtake them [p]; and Bosman affirms, that their ridiculous gestures and grimaces, occasioned by resentment and fear, give them more the appearance of a flock of monkies playing together, than of an army raised for the support and honour of a nation [q]. The soldiers chiefly aim at the fine cloaths, the coral, and jewels of the slain and prisoners; as for the slaves they want none, they become the property of their officers. When a maritime state is at war with an inland kingdom, the plunder is very considerable; for all the officers and soldiers of the latter dress out in their richest attire before they enter the field of battle. Such prisoners as cannot ransom themselves are sold for slaves, and prisoners of quality have generally a high price put on their liberty; but if the person who occasioned the war be taken, no sum whatever will procure his release, lest he should excite fresh commotions, and he is either sold, kept prisoner for life, or put to death, according to the nature of his offence. The Negro of the highest quality and influence is not secure against slavery, if he have the misfortune to be made a captive; for the price of his ransom is frequently raised higher than the value of his estate; nay, some are so barbarous, that they revenge their disappointment of a ransom, by murdering the prisoner.

Wars between two despotic sovereigns, who hold their subjects in abject slavery, are generally tedious and bloody. They fight with armies headed by their generals, and as they share none of the danger, so they feel no emotions either of pity or terror; the commanders are obliged to return with victory, cost what it will, or they endanger their heads: plunder and glory, not the happiness of their people, are their aims; but the means of acquiring these never cost them a penny; and upon the ruin of the enemy, they build their own greatness, even should their dominions be depopulated [r].

Their principal arms are musquets or carabines, which the Negroes manage with great dexterity on the parade, and where no danger is to be apprehended. No people on earth pass better at a review, so nimbly do they exercise their arms, discharging them in a variety of postures, sitting, stooping, and standing. Fire-arms are only used

p Barbot, p. 314. q Epist. 11. r Barbot, p. 115.

by

by the natives of the coast, who purchase them of the Europeans, yet are they constantly defeated by the armies of the interior countries, the courage and resolution of these last supplying the defects of arms and discipline.

Next to their fusils are a kind of swords shaped like chopping knives, about three hands broad at the extremity, and one at the hilt, which is of wood, ornamented with round nobs covered with leopard's skin. Amongst persons of condition, the sword hilt is plated with gold or silver, whilst many of the meaner sort content themselves with a cord basket hilt, coloured with blood, and set off with a bunch of horse hair, to which they suspend, by way of sword knot, a tyger's head, or a particular sort of red shell highly prized by them. This weapon is girt on the left hip, if it hangs on a belt; but when they stick it in their paans, then it comes between their legs, in which situation they think it interferes the less with their walking. The coast Negro soldiers also wear crocodile skin caps, adorned with red shells, and at the top with bunches of horse hair, the borders of each being set off with an iron chain that fixes it to the head. Some of the coast Negroes, as the Aquamboans and natives of Awinee, use bow and arrows, in the use of which the former are very expert; the latter poison their arrows.

Besides the musquet and gun, the Negroes use a kind of dart, which they call assagay, or hassagay with a strong aspirate; these are of two kinds, differing only in size. The smallest is about a flemish ell in length, and this they throw with great dexterity: the others are about twice as long, pointed and barbed with iron, which they use rather to push than to throw. Men of distinction have armour-bearers, who follow them with their assagays, and supply them in battle with as many as they want.

Last of all comes the shield, made by the coast Negroes, of twigs and osiers, covered with leather, and sometimes plated in the inside with copper, to ward off the assagays, as well as the blows of the sword. These shields are about five feet long, and three in breadth, and the Negroes manage them so artfully, that there is no touching their body, but by piercing through the shield[s]. Some few Negroes have cannon, but their engineers are so ignorant, and the damage done by the artillery so small, that the subject is not worth dwelling upon. We shall conclude this article with relating, from Des Marchais, the formalities usually

[s] Bosman, ibid. Des March. p. 321.

observed

obſerved in treaties of peace. When both nations are exhauſted with war, they begin to think of terms of accommodation: they demand of the aggreſſor an aſſignation of time and place to negociate articles of peace. The place choſen is generally a large plain, on the frontiers of both kingdoms, whither both ſovereigns march armed at all points, as if they intended to give battle, and followed by a crowd of feticheres, the emblems and mediators of peace. Here the prieſts of both nations ſwear mutually to deſiſt from hoſtilities, to forget injuries, to live in perfect accord and friendſhip, and to give pledges of their faith; but no mention is made of the priſoners of either ſide, or cartel ſettled for exchanging them, each looking upon them as his property, and the right of conqueſt. As ſoon as theſe ratifications are exchanged, a loud peal of warlike muſic publiſhes the general tidings; both ſides throw down their arms, embrace with all the appearance of a ſincere cordiality; the day is ſpent in feſtivity; commerce revives, and flouriſhes as if nothing had happened to ſtop the current of friendſhip; and both nations are united by the firmeſt ties, till ſome new frivolous accident ariſes, that turns all into freſh confuſion. Our author concludes with obſerving, that the hoſtages are compoſed of the king's children, and the chief of the nobility [t].

SECT. VII.

Containing a full Account of the Air, Climate, and Diſeaſes on the Gold Coaſt; an Explication of the Tides and Currents; an Account of the different Seaſons of the Year, and the dreadful Effects of the Tornadoes, or Whirlwinds, that are frequent here; of the Trade-winds, and Sea and Land-breezes; together with a Deſcription of the Animals, &c.

The Gold Coaſt.

THE Gold Coaſt being ſituated in the 5th deg. of north latitude, one may eaſily judge that the heat of the climate muſt be extreme; yet it is more healthy than many of the voyagers have repreſented it. The cuſtom with ſuch writers, is to place every thing in the moſt ſtriking view, to relate circumſtances in extremes, and to judge in this particular rather by their feelings, after coming

[t] Des Marchais, p. 312.

from

rom a cold climate, than according to truth. Those who have lived for some time in the country, acknowlege indeed, that the months of October, November, December, January, February, and March, are scorchingly hot, but the six subsequent months tolerable enough; and Bosman has known the weather as cold as in Holland, in September [u], Besides, the whole year is refreshed with delightful cool evening and morning sea and land breezes, that greatly qualify the extreme heat of the day.

Artus relates, that the most natural cause of any peculiar unhealthiness on the Gold Coast, which he could assign, was in the number of the high mountains with which every part of it abounds, and the deep vallies that separate them: from these arise a thick, fœtid, and sulphureous damp or exhalation, particularly in marshy grounds, and near rivers, that is in fact perceived to have a bad effect upon foreigners, especially if the stomach be empty. During their winter, that is, from March to October, these fogs occur most frequently, and in the months of July and August scarce a day passes without them; this therefore is the most sickly season of the year, we mean to strangers only. These natural causes, our author imagines, are greatly augmented by the beastly nastiness of the Negroes, who exonerate their bodies every where round the villages, and have a still more pernicious custom, of laying heaps of fish to rot and putrify in the open air, their method of seasoning it for the palate. Hence arise gross and malignant vapours, and a stench perceivable at the distance of several miles, not only disagreeable, but extremely noxious to newcomers. Many have been known to drop down as soon as they came within its influence; and others, who have enjoyed uninterrupted health among more cleanly neighbours, have here lingered and pined away in atrophies and consumptions.

Negroes enjoy a sound state of health.

With all the disadvantages of climate and manners, it is observable, that no people on earth enjoy better health, or arrive at a happier old age than the Negroes. They have indeed endemial diseases, but nothing besides their total ignorance of physic ever renders these fatal. The yaws, the Guinea worm, or dracunculus, and some other indigenous diseases, carry off but a small proportion of the people; it is the small-pox, and epidemic fevers that make prodigious ravages among children and strangers.

[u] Bosman, Epist. 3.

Agues and intermitting disorders are likewise frequent, but seldom fatal. Some writers mention, the βουλιμια, fames canina, or a continually craving appetite, as indigenous to this country; though others assure us, that this disorder arises from a flux of sharp humours upon the coats of the stomach, occasioned by the excessive quaffing of a kind of palm-wine, they call crissa[w]: but we shall pass over their diseases, which are but little understood by any voyagers we have met with, to speak of those circumstances of their natural history that are more distinctly related, as they require but little philosophy, and fall within common observation.

The great sir Isaac Newton was the first philosopher who applied astronomy successfully to the solution of several natural phænomena, and, by the principle of gravity, gave a probable and easy account of tides, currents, and the ebbing and flowing of the sea. The sun, moon, earth, and all the celestial bodies, have, according to this exalted philosopher, a gravitation towards their centers, proportioned to the quality of matter they contain. The earth being within the influence of the sun and moon's attractions, the fluid part of this globe, the ocean, feels their activity, and necessarily swells. It would be unnecessary here to enlarge upon this beautiful theory; sufficient it is, that on much the same principles the tides and currents on the coast of Guinea may be accounted for.

Of the tides and currents on the coast of Guinea.

From the river Gambia, to the straits and channels of of Benin, the ebbings and flowings are regular on the shores, with this difference, that in rivers or channels where two shores contract the water into a narrow compass, the tides are strong and high, as well as regular; but on the dead coast, as the seamen express it, are slow, and rise to no height, not above two or three feet, increasing as you approach the bay or channel of Benin. This is farther evident at Cape Coast, Soccondo, and Commendo; and, indeed, wherever the coast projects in points and peninsulas into the sea, the flowing there will be a foot or two higher than on an even coast, though but a few miles distant from each other[x].

On the Gold Coast the current sets sometimes at the rate of two miles an hour, frequently against the wind, more commonly with it, when it is rapid, but almost always to leeward, sometimes off, sometimes on, dimpling like a tide; at other times with a smooth glassy surface

[w] Barbot, p. 317. Bosman, Epist. 8. [x] Atkins, p. 135.

for

for days together, and imperceptible at ten leagues diſtance from the ſhore. The current ſets in on both ſides from the bay of Benin, from the ſouthward about and beyond Cape Lopez, and from the weſtward along the Gold Coaſt that is to leeward; for the winds are as commonly bent or deflected along the ſhore as the currents. Phillips obſerves, that all ſhips ſteering to Angola experience this, if they hold the land on board, as he calls it, or if they endeavour getting weſtward on the Gold Coaſt[y]. It is probable that this diverſity may ariſe from the formation of the land, as well as from the weather and winds. Thus the land running in a right line, without gulfs or bays, except the remarkably large one of Benin and Callabar, the flux of the ſea, when it is bounded by the ſhores, has a natural tendency to preſs in at every inlet, growing ſtronger as they advance towards it on both ſides. Such gulfs therefore, in a contraction of the waters, bear ſome reſemblance to channels, which, in proportion to their breadth and depth, and the ſea into which they open, have more or leſs current or tide along their ſhores inward. Theſe are aſſiſted partly by the winds, which are in a ſimilar manner deflected, and tend alſo on both ſides towards the bay; and partly by the weather, the intenſe hot ſun-ſhine exhaling more vapours near the ſhores and in ſhoal water, which are again expended in miſts, fogs, and rains. The laſt in particular, by being inceſſant for a month or ſix weeks together, and in rotation upon different parts of the coaſt, may probably contribute to ſome little diverſity of the tides: but it would be writing a philoſophical eſſay, to dwell minutely upon explications.

We may likewiſe aſſign another reaſon why the currents tend moſtly to the leeward. The flood being propagated from a vaſt ſouthern ocean, takes it courſe along the ſhore; but the ebbs revert eaſily and equally from all parts to the ocean, and therefore make ſo ſmall an alteration of the ſtream, as to be ſcarce perceivable at a very inconſiderable diſtance. Mariners who have left Whidah in July, when the currents in the road were ſtrong to leeward, and the winds altogether ſouth-weſt, could, notwithſtanding, ſafely have weathered any of the iſlands; a circumſtance altogether impoſſible, had the ſame current in the road extended acroſs the whole bay; and in-indeed, the getting ſo far ſouthward will be a phenomenon difficult to explain, unleſs we admit that the waters

y Phillips, p. 29.

received into the bay by the currents reverberate in the middle space, though insensibly, towards the main ocean. The same may be said of the Streights of Gibraltar [z].

From these observations of seamen we may venture to conclude, that in all places currents and tides have a near affinity. That it is chiefly the formation of the land that draws them either into the one or the other: if contracted between two shores, so as to form a channel, the diurnal elevation of the ocean, by the attraction of the moon, will make there a tide rapid in proportion to its breadth, depth, and the sea to which it lies open; but if the coast be open, as happens along the Gold Coast, then those tides become currents. This corollary is perfectly correspondent with all the observations made by the most judicious seamen, on the coast of Guinea, and by the French East India company, on the eastern side of the continent and the island of Madagascar; for there the channel being too deep and broad for the direction of a tide, there are southern and northern currents, as the sea elevated runs round the north or south end of the island; and what is still more to our purpose, they are strongest where the channel is narrowest; weaker and varying to different points of the compass, as the sea spreads more in the passage across the line [a]. Another corollary from our premises is, that all currents and tides are found only on shores, and indiscernible at ten leagues distance from a coast, or at the mouth of a channel; they are also variable from the same influence of the moon, and change of weather. This general theory of currents we imagined would be more satisfactory to our philosophical readers, than if we had given a dry recital of inconclusive remarks, which, however, form a part of the natural history of which we are to give an account.

Of the seasons on the Gold Coast.

Bosman divides the seasons on the Gold Coast into summer and winter; the latter admitting of three subdivisions, viz. two rainy, two foggy and hazy, and two windy months; but the variations are so great in different years, that those lesser divisions have no great certainty. The summer frequently begins a month earlier in one year than another, and the misty weather often takes the place of the rainy, and is itself supplanted by the windy weather. In a word, they are so various, confused, and indeterminate, that no certain calculation can be made.

[z] Ut ubi supra.

[a] Mem. d'Acad. Royal. des Scien. tom. xv. p. 217.

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On his first arrival on the coast, the succession of summer and winter were regular; each season appeared at its proper time, and every kind of weather had its peculiar months, when the inhabitants might certainly expect it. The winter was then much more severe than at present, and the rains were so violent, that a second deluge might be apprehended, continuing so for several successive days[b]. Now they are both less violent and frequent; a phenomenon that might perhaps be explained from the nutation of the poles, and a variation in the obliquity of the ecliptic[c]. Axim is but twenty miles distant from Elmina, yet is it more subject to rains than any other parts of the Gold Coast. Bosman was extremely surprised at its duration, and asked one of the officers, how long that kind of weather usually continued? The reply was but little to his satisfaction; for he was told, that at Axim the rains continued for eleven months and twenty-eight days of the year; an account which he afterwards found exaggerated, although he affirms, that it rains there at least half the year; for which reason the country is only fertile in rice and trees, the fruits, roots, and other kinds of grain being destroyed by the water. Atkins affirms, that there is a regular return of vernal and continual rains all over the coast; the former on both sides the equator, are the longest and most incessant. They begin on the north side of the line, at Sierra Leona, in May; on the Gold Coast in April, preceded by south-south-east winds; whereas, south of the equator, the vernal rains fall at Cape Lopez in October, and at Angola in November. When our author was at Cape Coast in 1721, the rains begun about the middle of April, and continued till the end of May, without intermission; but generally much heavier at night, accompanied with continued thunder, lightning, and calms. Whenever they felt a breeze, it was southerly, directly upon the land, while the clouds that contained the rain followed in a regular succession from the ocean. If the horizon ever brightened, as it sometimes did for a few minutes, then the sun's heat was felt with redoubled fervour[d].

The Negroes esteem rain unwholesome.

The Negroes avoid the rain with extreme anxiety, believing it to be exceedingly pernicious to their health; and indeed the observations of the Dutch, in particular seasons,

[b] Bosman, Epist. 8. [c] Vide a paper in a late vol. of the Phil. Transact. by the ingenious Dr. Bradley. [d] Atkins, p. 139.

ſeem to confirm their conjecture. During thoſe ſtorms, which they call travados, the rain, which falls near the line and within the tropics, is perfectly red, and of ſo pernicious a quality, that if the ſailors ſleep in their wet cloaths, as they frequently do upon other occaſions, they are certainly taken with dangerous maladies. So dreadful is rain to the Negroes, that if they are catched in the ſmalleſt ſhower, they croſs their arms over their heads to defend them, run with all their ſpeed to the firſt retreat, and ſeem to groan at every drop that falls upon them. For this reaſon it is, that when they ſleep at night upon their mats, they lie as cloſe as poſſible to the fire, and anoint their bodies with oil, as a defence againſt wet, by ſhutting up their pores, and denying admiſſion to the rain, the remote cauſe of all their diſeaſes. Thoſe terrible tornadoes, or, as the Portugueſe call them, travados, uſually follow the courſe of the ſun, which would ſeem to draw them by its influence. They are vortices or whirlwinds, raiſed in the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and ſometimes in the north, or ſome points to the weſt, accompanied with terrible claps of thunder, dreadful flaſhes of lightning, ſhowers that ſeem to fall in one united body of water, and a darkneſs ſo total that day is turned into night. They laſt for about an hour and a half, ſometimes more; but as ſoon as they are over, the ſky immediately returns to its former ſerenity and brightneſs, the change being as ſudden as the effects of the ſtorm are violent. When they happen in the good ſeaſons, or the ſummer, they are leſs terrible than in the winter; but they are more inconvenient, as they are followed for ſome days by cold rains, heavy beyond deſcription. In the winter the ſhips in the road are in the utmoſt danger, and mariners have every thing to dread from the fury and impetuoſity of thoſe hurricanes; but nature has wiſely provided for their ſecurity, by giving notice of their approach by infallible ſigns. A thick black cloud is perceived at a diſtance, and experience has taught the ſeamen, whether they are to expect wind or rain; for if the cloud be marked with white ſpots, the former is the ſure conſequence; but if it appear uniformly black, then heavy rains may be expected [e].

Of tornadoes.

All writers agree in affirming, that no quarter of the globe produces thoſe tornadoes ſo frequently as the coaſt of Africa. They probably ariſe from the great abundance of

[e] Atkins, ibid. Artus, p. 70, apud De Bruy.

nitrous

nitrous and sulphureous exhalations in the atmosphere, the intense heat of the sun, and the continual rains. If the clouds containing these materials be compact, and the heterogeneous contents strong, various, and unequal, then the explosion is proportionably violent, and astonishingly loud if it be near. Those hurricanes are limited to a very small space, for ships have been shattered to pieces at Cape Coast, when the weather was serene at Anamaboa, not three leagues distant.

Of the terreno or land-cloud.

The Portuguese have given the appellation of terreno to a violent land-wind, which the natives call harmattan, blowing from the east about Christmas and Midsummer. This all of a sudden rises with such fury, as immediately to suppress the sea-breezes, the storm continuing for two or three, frequently four or five days. The sun is totally obscured, the sky dark, the air piercing cold, thick, and so sharp as to affect the eyes, during the continuance of the storm. The nakedness of the Negroes renders them extremely sensible of this change, and our author has seen them tremble with cold, as if the shivering paroxysm of an ague had seized them; even the Europeans, who easily endure northern climates, support this sudden change with great difficulty; they are forced to keep themselves close shut up in their apartments, kindle large fires, and drink strong spirits, to defend them against the rigour of the air, which, though intensely cold, is so suffocating and close, that few are able to breathe in it freely. Nor are those harmattans less pernicious to the brute animals; and the Negroes, who know the consequence, shut their cattle up in their houses upon those occasions. The goats, which by way of experiment, the governor of Cape Coast exposed to the open air, were found dead in less than four hours. Boards are warped, paper and parchment shrivelled by this wind, as if they had been exposed to the meridian heat of the sun, or held over a fire; and Barbot relates, that so contracted were the wainscoatings of the chambers, and the boards of their chests, drawers, and escritores, that large chinks appeared in all the grooves, which closed up as soon as the harmattans ceased. These are extraordinary and contradictory effects, which we will not pretend to question, as they are attested by so many authentic writers, nor to explain from any of the known principles of nature [f].

[f] Barbot, p. 193, & seq. Atkins, p. 149.

Of the trade-winds.

The trade-winds blow fresh and equal here, as in other parts of the globe, within 30 degrees of the equator. On the Gold Coast the true trade-winds are westerly, keeping a tract with the shore, where it stretches eastward. Again from the river Gabon, under the line, the land deflects southward, the winds likewise keep nearly in a parallel with it, and veering from south-east to south-by-east; in both the shore seems to deflect the true trade-winds, in the same manner as capes do tides or currents. If at particular seasons, as is remarked in the rainy season, the winds become more southerly, they are weak; and as the sun is at this time north of the equinoctial, the final cause is probably to restore an equilibrium to that air at land, which is more rarified by a stronger reflected heat.

Land and sea-breezes.

Lastly, the natives of this coast enjoy the benefit of the land and sea-breezes, which are gales of no great strength or extent, but extremely refreshing and necessary, where the sun-beams beat with such an insupportable power. The sea-breeze comes on about ten in the morning, fresh, sweet, and enlivening; but the land-breeze, which succeeds at night, is faint, sultry, and fœtid, especially when it blows from rivers, where the banks are marshy, and covered with rotten mangrove trees, a thing frequent in this country [g].

Of the quadrupeds.

We have already spoken of the gold and salt of the Gold Coast in our description of the different kingdoms; it is now time we should proceed to a short account of the quadrupeds, fowls, fish, grains, fruits, and roots of the country. Among their tame animals, the first in rank on account of their utility, are horned cattle, as bulls, cows, sheep, and goats, with which Dinkira, Assiento, Akim, and all the inland countries abound, though only a few black cattle are brought to the coast. At Axim, indeed, Pockeson, Elmina, and Acra, they are pretty numerous, as these countries have an easy means of conveying them from Aquamboe and Lampi. At Axim the pasture is good, the cattle thrive well, breed fast, and fatten; but at Elmina, and the adjacent countries, they are always lean, dry, furnishing but little milk, and bad beef. Bosman observes, that in this country only, the cows are never milked, the Negroes being entirely ignorant both of the use and manner of that operation; and here twenty or thirty cows are scarce sufficient to furnish the director-general's table with milk. The cattle are so light and

g Atkins, ibid.

small,

ſmall, that the largeſt bull doth not weigh above two hundred and fifty pounds; however, their ſize and weight are by no means proportionable; and it is the obſervation of writers, that all the animals are ſpecifically lighter on the Gold Coaſt than in any other part of the globe, a circumſtance which they imagine proceeds from the nature of their aliment, that, inſtead of firm and ſolid, produces only a ſpongy, looſe, and tough fleſh. Hence it is, that all the beef killed for their markets is of an ungrateful and really nauſeous taſte; notwithſtanding which a cow ſells at ſo high a price as twelve pounds ſterling, a proof that black cattle are not very plentiful [h]. Artus, after obſerving the diminutive growth of the cattle, adds, that their ſcarcity ariſes from the difficulty of rearing the calves with ſo ſmall a quantity of milk as is produced by the dam; and hence their veal is ſtill worſe than the beef, having a peculiarly offenſive taſte, as well as a ſoftneſs extremely diſagreeable [i].

Sheep are plentiful all over the country, of the ſhape of our European ſheep, but ſmaller by half, and covered with hair inſtead of wool. Their fleſh does not in the leaſt reſemble mutton in the taſte; it is dry, lean, and hard, ſo that perſons of delicate appetites ſeldom eat it, and yet it is above the price which the common people can afford. A ſheep is ſold at thirty ſhillings; an extraordinary price for an animal ſo ſmall, ſo uſeleſs, and ſo abundant as writers deſcribe them.

Goats are innumerable, every field and hill is covered with them: their ſhape differs in nothing from thoſe we every day ſee, but their ſize is infinitely ſmaller; though this is ſufficiently compenſated by the quality of their fleſh, which is ſweet, fat, and delicate, eſpecially that of a he-goat caſtrated when young, and turned out to the mountains. Yet are they ſold at ſo ſmall a price as ſeven or eight ſhillings each. We could wiſh that authors had given us the reaſons why a ſheep, whoſe fleſh is contemptible, ſhould bear an extravagant price, while goats, that are eat by all degrees of men with pleaſure, ſell at ſo trifling a ſum.

The Gold Coaſt produces horſes of a ſmall ſize, like thoſe of the north and extreme cold climates. They are ſcarce in the maritime kingdoms, but plentiful enough in the interior countries. Their ſhape is bad, the head like that of an aſs, and always hanging down; nor is their met-

[h] Boſman, Epiſt. 14. [i] P. 198, apud de Bruy.

tle

tle much higher, it requiring violent blows to put them on a trot, which is their quickeſt pace. According to Boſman, they are ſo low, that a tall man mounted on horſeback may eaſily touch the ground with his feet. The country likewiſe produces a few aſſes, taller and handſomer than the horſes, and generally preferred for riding; for neither are much uſed in carrying burdens. It is remarked, that they thrive badly near the ſea; and Boſman relates, that three or four aſſes, which they procured from the interior countries, ſoon died at Elmina. Hogs are in great plenty; but, like the reſt of their quadrupeds of little value, and their fleſh, lean and hard. Thoſe, however which the Europeans fatten are tolerable, though greatly inferior to the pork of Whidah, the beſt, according to our writers of voyages, in the known world [q]. One may judge of the ſcarcity of good pork by the price of a fat hog, which is ſeldom ſold for leſs than three pounds ten ſhillings ſterling.

But of all animal food, dogs fleſh is in the greateſt repute among the Negroes. Thoſe of the country are a peculiar ſpecies, diſtinct from any known in Europe: they neither bite nor bark; they are of all colours, black, red, white, and yellow; and even the European dogs degenerate ſurpriſingly in a few years; their ears growing long, ſtiff, and erect, like thoſe of a fox. The Negroes give a great price for a dog; they build kennels for them, breed up the young with great care, and drive them to market like flocks of ſheep, where they ſell at an exorbitant price. Barbot ſays, that their tails are long, pointed, and without hair; ſometimes, ſays he, their whole ſkins are bare and ſpeckled; but this kind of animal is not frequent, nor is it much coveted, being equally offenſive to the ſight and the touch. The Negroes, borrowing the name from the Portugueſe, call dogs cabra de matto, becauſe they love their fleſh, and prefer it to beef or mutton.

A cat is an animal much eſteemed by Negroes, eſpecially ſuch of them as are expert in killing rats and mice, creatures with which the whole coaſt is greatly infeſted. Some of them eat their fleſh; but this is a kind of food in little requeſt, except among the pooreſt Negroes and ſlaves, who ſometimes ſteal them from the Europeans, to ſatisfy the cravings of nature [r].

We now come to the wild quadrupeds, among which the elephant claims the firſt place, on account of his pro-

[q] Boſm. Epiſt. 14. [r] Artus & Boſm. in locis citatis.

digious

digious bulk, and great sagacity. This noble animal has been already described, but the writers of voyages observe some peculiar properties in the elephant of the Gold Coast; and indeed a creature of so immense stature and so extraordinary qualities will always afford room for new observations. No part of Africa, or perhaps of the known world, has a greater number of elephants than the Ivory Coast; but they are not so numerous on the Gold Coast. The countries of Ancobar and Axim produce indeed a great number; but as these places form the frontiers of both coasts, they are probably the elephants of the Ivory Coast that are met with, and every day killed here. A good many are likewise found in the kingdom of Fetu; and it may serve for a general observation, that the less populous a country is, the more it abounds with wild animals of all kinds. All the interior kingdoms have them, from whence they come down to the coasts, within musquet-shot of the European settlements, and commit abundance of mischief, carrying terror and desolation wherever they go. In the year 1697, an elephant of an uncommon magnitude was killed near the Dutch fort of Acra, his two great teeth or tusks weighing two hundred and twenty pounds. In 1700, a Negro at Axim, that was accustomed to elephant-hunting, and had killed several, took aim at one that came near his hut, but the musket missing fire, the elephant gave him chace, overtook him, and broke the gun in pieces, disdaining to hurt the man. The same year an elephant came to Elmina, walking gravely along the shore, when he was first discovered by the Negroes, who boldly surrounded him unfurnished with weapons. The elephant suffered them to encompass him, going gravely along with them to mount St. Jago, where one of the officers of the fort fired at him with a musket-ball, which hit him above the eye, but did not even irritate or seem in the least to offend him: neither this, nor several other shots poured in upon him made him in the smallest degree mend his pace; the only effect they had was to make him now and then toss his head in a menacing manner, and prick up his ears, which were of a prodigious size. At last he entered the company's gardens, pushing before him the gate, as if no impediment at all were in the way, and breaking down large coco trees; in doing which, says our author, the force he exerted may aptly be compared to the strength a man applies in beating a child. While he was in the garden, above a hundred shot were fired at him, which made him bleed exceedingly, but did not

not raise his indignation; nor would his fury at all have broke forth, if a Negro had not been hardy enough to lay hold of his tail, and attempt to cut it off, a piece of imprudence of which he had soon reason to repent. The elephant turned swiftly round, hit him with his proboscis, which overturned him, then trampled and tore him in pieces with his tusks and feet; after which he moved a little aside, and suffered the body to be taken away without offering the least resistance. At length through loss of blood he became faint, and retiring under the shade of a tree, laid himself quietly down, and breathed his last; a circumstance that confirms Bosman in the notion the Negroes have, that as soon as an elephant perceives death approaching, he retires, out of decency, under a tree, or into a thicket, and there expires [a].

The elephants of this coast are rather of a smaller size than those of the East Indies, but similar in shape and disposition. Bosman is at great pains to refute the assertions of naturalists concerning this animal, which he thinks absurd and impossible. He denies, that we know any thing of their manner of engendering, in which they are extremely shy and modest: he ridicules the common notions of their long pregnancy, extraordinary age, shedding their teeth, and a number of other circumstances, related for truth by Pliny, and from him adopted by succeeding naturalists; but the last particular is asserted by Smith, and corroborated with such arguments as one would think sufficient to confirm it. Atkins joins in the same opinion; but then he confines it to the young ones, believing that they change the old for young teeth, like children, and some brute animals. To this may be added the testimony of the Negroes, from experience, who never find but a single tooth at a time, and that frequently where no dead elephant or skeleton had ever been found. Barbot assures us, that an elephant swims with the swiftness of a galley with six oars, and will out-run a horse for a short distance, qualities which one would not expect in an animal of so prodigious bulk. The Negroes distinguish them into three kinds, the river, the mountain, and the wood-elephant. The river-elephant takes its name from its delighting in marshy grounds, and the borders of rivers that overflow their banks: the teeth of this animal have a bluish cast, are spongious, difficult to draw and work on account of roots and knobs, which change the course of the grain.

[a] Bosman, Epist. 14.

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The mountain-elephant is fierce, outrageous, and difficult to break; the teeth small, but hard, and much esteemed. As for the elephant that is found in woods, it is of all the largest and gentlest; the teeth large, white, and in quality the nearest to those of the mountain-elephant. Hunting them is a common, but dangerous diversion, and several of the Negroes lose their lives every year in this sport. The most common and surest method is to fire at them with iron bullets; for lead is found too soft to penetrate those thick hard scales that serve to shield his body, like a coat of mail. No white elephants are ever met with on the coast, although travellers relate, that they are common enough in the interior countries along the Niger, in Abyssinia, and in the province of Zanzibar. Notwithstanding the monstrous size of this animal, the parts serving for generation are small, and by no means proportioned to the bulk of the body. They are concealed within the reins, as Bosman expresses it, which may perhaps have given rise to the notion of their engengering backwards; but this is sufficient concerning an animal not peculiar to this country, that has so frequently been described by the most accurate naturalists [t].

Tigers are very numerous in almost every part of the coast: the Negroes call them bohen, and they are usually of the size of a calf, large and strong in the fore feet and shoulders, and the skin beautifully spotted with black and yellow. They are more destructive in Guinea than all the other beasts of prey; and a man that enters a wood unarmed runs the greatest hazard of his life; however, nothing besides hunger will oblige them to attack a man. Bosman has seen young ones so tame, that they might be fondled and played with as familiarly as a cat; but the fierceness of their nature recurs as they grow up. The Negroes distinguish them into five different species, and affix proper names to each; but no author has either ventured to translate those terms, or describe the characterical marks [u].

In size the buffaloe comes nearest to the elephant of any quadruped found on the Gold Coast; but they are so scarce as hardly to merit a rank among the animals of the country. The jackcall is always found on the Gold Coast, particularly in Aquamboe and Acra. It is a bold and fierce animal, that attacks whatever comes in the way. This is a species of wild dog, of the size of a mastiff, long in the limbs, with large strong claws, the

[t] Auct. ult. citat. ibid. & Barbot, p. 207. [u] Barb. ibid.

hair

hair ſhort and ſpotted, the head large and flat, and the teeth ſurpriſingly ſharp and pointed. It is probable, from ſome circumſtances which voyagers relate, that he has frequently been miſtaken for the wolf; and indeed the deſcription which moſt writers give of either may very well ſerve for both.

On the Gold Coaſt is a ſpecies of wild boar, but not ſo fierce as in northern and cold countries. As they are not numerous, and the fleſh is tender, fat, and delicious, they ſell at a great price, and are always preferred to tame hogs. Deer of all kinds and ſizes are found in every part of the country, and in ſuch abundance, that they are ſeen in flocks of a hundred together. Boſman mentions twenty different kinds of deer, ſome as large as a ſmall cow, and others not exceeding a cat in ſize: the moſt beautiful is a ſmall red deer, with ſhort black horns, and legs as ſlender as a tobacco-pipe. Nothing can exceed this little delicate animal in ſwiftneſs and activity. Boſman ſays he has ſeen it leap over a wall fourteen feet high with the utmoſt facility. Another kind of deer he deſcribes of a fine orange colour, beautifully ſpeckled and ſtreaked with white, his head, ears, and legs long, and the latter delicately ſlender. Several Europeans have attempted to import both theſe animals, but they were of ſo tender a nature, that, though they were incloſed in boxes [x] filled with cotton, they died as ſoon as they entered a cold climate.

Artus relates, that ſome countries on the Gold Coaſt abound with hares, rabbets, does, and foxes; in taking which the Negroes have ſeveral ingenious contrivances [y]. Boſman mentions four different ſorts of wild cats, among which he reckons the civet-cat, which the Negroes have the art of catching young, and ſell to the Europeans for nine or ten ſhillings each. Great care and trouble are required to rear them; the food is pap, panado of boiled millet, fleſh, and fiſh; the two laſt to be given with caution. They produce civet even when very young, of which that of the male is the beſt, the urine of the female ſpoiling the quality of the civet. According to Barbot, the civet-cat, which the Negroes call kankan, and the Portugueſe, gatos de aglalia, reſembles a fox in ſize and ſhape, but the feet ſomewhat longer, and the tail exactly like a cat's, if not longer in proportion to the body. The hair is grey, ſpotted with black: it prefers the entrails of animals to millet or any other food; and living upon fleſh, it

[x] Epiſt. 14. [y] Artus, apud De Bruy, p. 52.

is

is ſuppoſed, increaſes the quantity of civet [z]. Barbot makes directly the ſame obſervation with Boſman concerning the muſk of the female; and both relate, that it is cuſtomary to torment, teaze, and irritate her before the muſk is taken from the bag, which it is ſuppoſed heightens the flavour; and Boſman recommends a ſmooth wooden ſpoon to be uſed in emptying the ſac or bag, for fear of wounding the tender coats [a].

Here likewiſe are found a few porcupines, which Boſman deſcribes about two feet and a half high, with teeth ſo keen, that they will gnaw through the hardeſt wood. He once put one of them in an oak hogſhead, by way of cage, imagining that he had ſufficiently guarded againſt its eſcape; but in the ſpace of one night it had almoſt eat through. He is ſo bold that he ventures to attack the largeſt ſnake, and fierce battles frequently happen between them. The Negroes and ſome Europeans eſteem their fleſh very delicious. Boſman ſpeaks alſo of a kind of hedge-hog; but without the quality of rolling itſelf as our European hedge-hogs do [b]. And Artus mentions a number of wild quadrupeds peculiar to the coaſt; but as no writer has deſcribed them all, we muſt be ſatisfied with the imperfect accounts they afford.

On the Gold Coaſt is found a quadruped which the Negroes call potto, the ſluggard; a name probably given from its ſluggiſh and heavy nature, a few yards being a long day's journey. Some writers affirm, that when this animal has made his way up a tree, he does not remove his quarters till he has entirely conſumed the leaves, after which he deſcends ſleek and fat; but is ſo tedious in his progreſs to another tree, that he loſes all the benefit of his laſt ſituation, becoming poor, lean, and feeble before he can fix in a new habitation. It is an animal ſo hideouſly ugly, that Boſman believes nature produces nothing equal to it in this particular. Its fore-feet greatly reſemble hands; it is clothed with a coarſe red hair, and its head large beyond all proportion to the ſize of the body. This is the whole of his deſcription, which he concludes with affirming, that it was not poſſible to look upon it without horror, its uglineſs conſtituting all that is peculiar to it. Beſides this, Boſman ſlightly mentions three or four other quadrupeds almoſt peculiar to Guinea. Among theſe is a little animal to which the Negroes give the name of berbe, and the Europeans of wine-bibber, from its fond-

[z] Barbot, ubi ſupra. [a] Boſman, p. 209. [b]. Epiſt. 14.

neſs

nefs of palm-wine, which it fucks up with greedinefs. He calls it a fpecies of cat, but with a longer head and more pointed fnout or jaws, fpotted like the civet-cat, active and fierce when enraged, but otherwife tame and familiar, after it has been accuftomed to be handled. The next animal is about the fize of a rat, of a mixed colour of brown and grey hair, with white fpots; the tail is long, and furnifhed with a fine fmooth brufh, with which it covers the whole back, like a fquirrel, of which it feems to be a fpecies. The third fort, when full grown, are about twice the bulk of the former, mifchievous, fierce, and dangerous in the bite. The Negroes call it kokebo. It is a cruel enemy to the feathered kind, efpecially fowls, which it catches by fpeed of foot, and carries off by its ftrength, though but a fmall animal [c].

In the woods is found a long flender animal, fomething refembling a weazel in fhape, with a long tail and large brufh at the extremity. His colour is pale, inclining to brown, and his hair long and thin. The Negroes call this animal arampo, or *man-eater*; becaufe it digs up graves, and prefers human flefh to all others. The Negroes relate, that as foon as it uncovers a body, and perfectly removes the earth from it, it goes round the grave, as if they intimated, fay the Negroes, that a bad action cannot be committed without feeling a fenfation of repugnance [d]: but however natural and ingenious this reflection may be, we are inclined to believe, that thefe rounds are rather taken to examine the ground; the animal dreading, through a natural inftinct, the lofs of its prey.

But of all the quadrupeds on the Gold Coaft, rats and mice are the moft numerous and deftructive. One fpecies of the former is large and fierce, committing prodigious havock among the grain. The Dutch call it a wild rat, it refembling that animal in fhape and nature, though it often exceeds the fize of a cat. The flefh of it is eaten with luxury by the Negroes, and thought delicious by fuch Europeans as could overcome their prejudices. At Axim is feen another kind of rat, which the Negroes call boutre, of much the fame fize with the former, but more flender. It is inconceivable the damage this little animal does in the magazines of corn, one of them deftroying in a night more than a hundred common rats; for after having eat all it can, then it falls to work to fpoil all it cannot carry off. Among the mice of the country Bofman fpeaks of one, which

[c] Bofman, Epift. 14. [d] Smith, p. 147.

he

he calls the musk-mouse, on account of its strong civet flavour; which, he believes, proceeds from the skin, and not from any particular sack in which the perfume is contained. Both he and Smith distinguish above fifty different sorts of mice, all of them agreeing in one quality, of being as mischievous as possible. The same they affirm of the monkey, an animal extremely abundant here, and as various in their kinds as they are numerous. The most common sort are those the Dutch call Smitten, of a pale mouse colour, and extraordinary size, some of them above five feet high. Bosman saw one as large as an ordinary man, but less corpulent. An English gentleman related to him, that at Winibaw they are so bold and strong, that one of them will attack a man; and two soldiers belonging to the factory were once in great danger of being cuffed to death by a company of apes, had they not been seasonably rescued. The Negroes are fully convinced, that policy only prevents their speaking, which they decline, to avoid work and to live in indolence. He speaks of a beautiful jet-black small monkey, with long hair, and a white beard, which Europeans greatly prize, and purchase for about eighteen shillings sterling. Besides these they are fond of three other kinds, all of them exceeding small, of a mixed colour, with breasts and faces, and a disposition beyond imagination docile and tractable. But it would be endless to recite all the various kinds of which voyagers speak, especially as they may all be ranged under two general classes, the wild and tame; the former large, bold, and of a fierceness that cannot be subdued; and the other smaller, gentle, and familiar, in its nature; but full of sport, tricks, and wantonness [e]. There is one however which we cannot help describing, from Smith, Atkins, and Barbot, on account of its near resemblance in figure, features, natural and imitative qualities, to the human species. It had a regular and well framed face, exactly resembling a child's, thinly covered with hair; it had no tail, and would eat nothing but milk, and boiled millet or barley. When hungry, it cried so like a child, that it was not possible to distinguish their voices. The arms and hands were perfectly well proportioned, and the animal used them with all the address of a human creature. Barbot observes, that the face is perfectly white, but wrinkled, more strongly resembling a little old woman than a child. The teeth are regular, but yellow, and the palms

[e] Bosman, Epist. 14.

of the hands and fingers exceeding white and smooth, the rest of the body being clothed with a natural coat of hair. They are reported to be extremely fond of women; and that the Negro women frequently admit of their beastly embraces. In a word, from their description, this animal, which the Negroes call baggo, appears to be the same we find mentioned by naturalists, under the appellation of mandrill. Atkins, reports, that he frequently met with that species of ape called ouran-outang, in the woods of the Gold Coast. In the year 1733, captain Flower brought one to London in his return from Angola. It died by the way; but he preserved the body so carefully in spirits, that he perfectly kept his natural appearance, which in every respect resembled the human figure. His face, and organs of generation, his hands, legs, and feet, were altogether human; and captain Flower affirmed, that he used to walk erect, sit upon a chair on his buttocks, with his legs hanging down, eat and drink like a man. However, as this animal is mentioned by no other author, as a native of Guinea, we will not dwell on the description [f].

Among the quadrupeds of the Gold Coast the lizard deserves notice, of which there are various kinds. One, called quoggelo, is of a monstrous size, approaching rather to that of an alligator than a lizard. Artus, Dapper, and Barbot affirm, that it measures eight feet in length, the tail alone being one fourth. Its scales are compared to the leaves of an artichoke, but less pointed, and so stiff that they protect it against the bite of any animal. Its chief enemies are the tiger and leopard, who pursue it, and with great difficulty overtake it. As soon as the lizard perceives that she can no longer depend upon her swiftness, she wraps herself in her coat of mail, and becomes invulnerable. The Negroes kill it by striking the head; they sell the skin to the Europeans, and eat the flesh, which is white and relishing. It lives upon ants; to catch which it puts out its long tongue, covered with a glutinous saliva. Des Marchais speaks of it as a gentle, inoffensive animal; but Dapper calls it a beast of prey, that greatly resembles the crocodile [g].

The ceyman, crocodile, or alligator, which is a smaller kind of the same animal, is so plenty in Guinea that every river on the coast is filled with them, especially about Boutry, where Bosman has seen fifty of them in a day, each

[f] Prevost Collect. des Voy. tom. v. chap. 8. [g] Des March. vol. i. p. 52. Artus, p. 43.

twenty

twenty feet long. In hot weather they lie basking in the sun in crowds along the shore, and as soon as they perceive a man approaching plunge into the river, though they seldom fly from any other animal. The crocodile is so well known, that it would be unnecessary to describe it. Another amphibious animal found on the Gold Coast is the guana, which in particular resembles the crocodile, but is no more than four feet in length. It is scaly, of a black ground, spotted with different colours; the eyes are round, and the flesh tender. Villault assures us, that dragons are found on the Gold Coast; however, as he does not favour us with a description, we may reasonably question the truth of his assertion. Cameleons are found in great abundance; and Bosman asserts with Le Bruyn, the truth of their changing colour with whatever comes near them, red only excepted. It is about the length of a lizard, and much like it; but the tongue is as long as the whole body, which it uses in catching flies, the only food it delights in. This, it is probable, has given many naturalists the opinion, that it lives upon air. As the gentlemen of the royal academy at Paris have so accurately described this animal, we shall refer the reader to their memoirs, in which he will find a very satisfactory account, both of the cameleon and salamander, another animal said to be a native of the Gold Coast. We must only observe, that Smith had seen a salamander basking in the meridian sun, upon a stone so hot, that the hand could not bear it; and yet, when he touched the animal, it felt as cold as ice; however, the French philosophers seem to have justly exploded the notion of its being able to live in the fire [h].

Of the birds and feathered animals.

We proceed now to the feathered kind, of which, besides almost all the birds known to Europe, Guinea, and especially the Gold Coast, affords a great number peculiar to the country. The pheasants of the Gold Coast, are the most beautiful in the world, the plumage consisting of a bright white and blue, the mixture forming a charming colour; the neck is encircled with a shining sky-coloured ring, about two fingers broad, and the head adorned with a fine black tuft, soft as an ostrich's feathers. The Whidah pheasant is also found here. The feathers of this bird are grey and white, and much inferior in beauty to the plumage of the former. His head is bald, and covered only with a hard, callous, knotty, uneven skin, like

[h] Part. 52. Art. ibid.

a turkey, and the bill yellow. Artus and Bosman had both seen a particular species of water fowl, in shape resembling a duck, but incomparably more beautiful in the feathers, which were an elegant lively green, and the feet and bill red as coral. In the year 1700, a Dutchman brought the latter a duck, which he had just shot: his feet and bill were yellow, and the plumage a mixture of grey and green feathers; very beautiful, but inferior to the former. Both are so scarce, that they are seldom seen in an age [i].

Bosman and Villault mention a great variety of turtle-doves, each of them distinct in colour and some other peculiarities from the others; but this bird is so various in Europe, that it would be tedious to characterize them all. The crown bird, which we mentioned before, is here found in greater plenty than in any part of Guinea, except Whidah. The legs of this bird are long, like those of a stork; its body is chiefly covered with black feathers, and the wings with large red, white, and black quills; the head is beautified with black shining spots, as large as a six-pence, and the fore part of the head clothed with a thick black down, soft as velvet, over which rises a beautiful tuft of yellow and speckled feathers, something resembling a crown, in the manner in which they are disposed. Notwithstanding all those beauties, Bosman thinks it greatly inferior to the former, and indeed to many other birds on the coast [k].

About Apam there is a bird which, for its beauty, surpasses every other, the peacock excepted, that our author ever saw; but he does not favour us with the name; though from his description it would appear to be a kind of parrot, in the bill, claws, and size, exactly resembling that animal. The bill is yellow, the breast and belly of a fine green colour, and the back a mixture of grey, red, sky-blue, and a kind of violet plumage; the head, neck, and tail are of an elegant shining green, the feathers rising like a comb on the head; the eyes are large, and beautifully marked near the eye-lids with red rays, that cannot be described in words (D). "To conclude," says he, "this bird is not to be paralleled." Bosman takes notice, that there are hundreds of large and small birds entirely unknown in Europe, even to the best naturalists, for which the Negroes themselves have no names. Among these he rec-

[i] Bosm. Epist. 15. [k] Idem ibid.

(D) Is not this the maccau?

kons

kons a beautiful bird, that frequents the borders of rivers and lakes. It is about the ſize of a chicken, the upper part of his body black or brown, ſpotted with white, and the breaſt and belly a fine yellow or red. On the head ſtands erect a tuft of ſpeckled ſmooth feathers, that gives a look of majeſty to the bird, ſome of them falling down on his bill, which is remarkably thick and long in proportion to his body. Foquenbourg affirms, that he ſaw peacocks near the river Bourtry; but as no other writer takes notice of that bird as a native of the Gold Coaſt, we are inclined to believe it the crown bird with the long ſpangled tail; for of theſe birds there are various kinds.

Artus, Barbot, and Boſman, deſcribe a fowl peculiar to this country, to which however they give no name. He is of the ſize of a gooſe, his wings immoderately large and broad, covered with dark feathers, if they may be called ſo; for they more reſemble hair. Under his bill he has a pouch or maw, about nine inches long, naked and like the ſkin of the head of a turkey, in which he hoards his food. His neck is long, and his head large beyond all proportion to his body, bold, and uncommonly ugly; but his eyes are large, black, and lively, and his bill thick and long: his uſual food is fiſh, of which he devours a quantity ſufficient for four men, ſwallowing them whole with the greateſt facility, as he likewiſe does rats, of which he is fond [l] (E).

Boſman kept one at Elmina, which uſed to run tamely about the fort, and ſuffered himſelf to be handled by all ſorts of people, whether ſtrangers or others. When he caught a rat he immediately ſwallowed it, and, if fondled, would diſgorge it as a preſent and mark of his gratitude, laying it at the perſon's feet who had taken the moſt notice of him. "It was ridiculous enough," ſays our author, "to ſee him fight, peck, and clap his wings round the boys in the fort, of whom he always had the better, if fiſh or rats were to be the reward of victory." Smith affirms, that this is the bird which the Negroes call pokkoe, and is found in the greateſt plenty on the banks of the river Bourtry [m].

The ſame authors ſpeak of another fowl, about the ſize of the former, but with a neck ſo long, that his head is above ſix feet from the ground. His feathers are black,

[l] Art. p. 82. Barb. p. 175. [m] Part. 149.

(E) This ſeems to be the penguin.

white, red, sky, and several other colours, intermixed in a very beautiful manner; his eyes, large and yellow; and his usual residence on the banks of the river; for he is scarce ever seen any where else. His name is equally unknown to the Europeans and Negroes; nor have naturalists classed him under any species of fowl. Indeed the account we have from voyagers is much too general to admit it. Another of these anonymous birds is described, with a long black bill, his body chequered with yellow and bright blue feathers, a black semicircle half way round his neck, a long tail composed of yellow, blue, and black feathers, and a few erect feathers of various colours on his head. We have no account of his size; nor of that of another fowl of the same species, differing only in the sharpness of his bill, in having the lower part of his body clothed with black feathers, while his back is adorned with a beautiful yellow and smooth plumage. Next follows a bird without a name, of much the same figure as the former, only with this difference, that his legs and toes are remarkably long, and his plumage a mixture of grey and yellow. The next is a small bird, about the size of a thrush, and shaped like a sparrow; his colour renders him very beautiful, his head and breast being black as jet, his wings and feet grey, and the neck and tail of a bright crimson hue. It is of so delicate a nature, that it cannot be kept alive for any time in a cage. But one of the most beautiful birds produced in Guinea is what Bosman describes as a sea-fowl, or rather of a river bird. His wings or the upper part of the body are entirely blue, somewhat inclining to a sky colour. The plumage of his neck and tuft on his head are of the same dye, and his feet and bill of a fine coral red; but we are left in the dark both as to his name and dimensions [n].

All the writers of voyagers to Guinea mention a small bird peculiar to the Gold Coast, of the graniverous kind; his neck, breast, or lower part of his body of a dark red, the head jet black, except a beautiful yellow spot on the forehead; his back and wings jet black, and his tail, which is long, a mixture of black, yellow, and red feathers. Another of the size of the former, resembles him likewise in plumage, only that the breast and neck are of a bright scarlet hue, the head of a beautiful yellow, and all the rest of a fine glossy black. To this may be added, a bird of the size of a black-bird, which the Negro calls the parry bird,

[n] Auct. cit ibid.

from

from beautiful specks of white, terminating in rays, with which his head or body is covered: his voice, they say, is as loud as the roaring of a bull; but Bosman describes it only as a deep, hollow, and loud sound [o]. Besides these, the Gold Coast abounds with becasigos, partridges, linnets, larks, paroquets, parrots, canary birds, doves, wood-pigeons, geese, ducks, turkies, and, in a word, all those birds known to Europe, or almost any other part of the world, excepting peacocks and ostriches, none of which were ever seen on the Gold Coast.

Of reptiles and insects.

Having described the birds and quadrupeds in the best manner the authority of voyagers will permit, we now enter upon an account of the reptiles found on the Gold Coast, in which we fear we shall fall as short of an accurate relation, as in the former particulars. Those reptiles to which voyagers have given names, are snakes, toads, frogs, vipers, scorpions, land crabs, snails, caterpillars, locusts, grasshoppers, hembottles, worms, and millepedes, &c. of each of which there is such variety, as we cannot pretend to particularize: we shall therefore touch only upon those the most curious, and least known, in which number we must reckon those snakes of so monstrous a size, as almost to exceed credit. Bosman has seen snakes of twenty feet in length, and six in circumference, and he believes, they are much larger in the inland countries; a supposition that Artus confirms, by assuring us, that he has seen snakes thirty-two feet long, and near ten feet round, containing whole oxen and men in their bowels [p], an assertion which we must leave to the reader to credit or not, as his judgment directs. Bosman says, that he found in the stomach of a snake, a whole deer, and in another the body of a man, and yet neither of these exceeded twenty feet in length. Most of them are poisonous, but the small ones, about a yard long, variegated with white, black, and yellow spots, are venomous to an extreme [q].

The same author relates, that several persons besides himself have seen dead snakes with distinct double heads, each of them having every organ belonging to that part; and Artus describes the dragon or winged serpent, which he affirms he had seen more than once. This animal, says he, bears a mortal enmity to the elephant, with whom he is at eternal war. His tail is long, his teeth sharp, and his body spotted with blue and green, sometimes streaked;

[o] Epist. 15. [p] P. 81. apud De Bruy. [q] Epist. 15.

but he forgets to describe the wings. They are commonly ten ells in length, but they have been seen at least an hundred yards long!

Bosman, who speaks on his own knowlege, and more within bounds, says, that the woods, the fields, the Negroes huts, the European forts, and even their bedchambers, are frequently infested with snakes. One he describes about fourteen feet in length, with two claws, at the distance of two feet from the extremity of his tail, with which he helps to rear himself when he seizes his prey. His head, says he, resembles a pike, and the jaws are armed with teeth in much the same manner. He describes another snake about five feet long, with a broad flat head, a sharp tooth pointing from his jaw through the nostril, and his skin speckled with a variety of beautiful colours. With this tooth he wounds his prey; and the Negroes have often experienced its sharpness, stumbling upon it when the animal is fast asleep, after a hearty repast. This is probably the same animal which naturalists call the horned serpent. In the year 1689, the Negroes killed a snake at Axim, twenty-two feet long; and Smith, who saw it, affirms, that it contained a complete deer in the stomach [r]. About the same time another was destroyed at Bourtry, in the belly of which was found the greater part of a Negro it had devoured. They frequently have furious engagements with toads and porcupines, one of which encounters Bosman had once occasion to see, which afforded great diversion. At the Dutch fort at Mawri, the workmen found a large snake under a pile of stones, which they determined to seize. After removing part of the rubbish, a slave seeing the tail peeping out between two stones cut it off with his knife, and proceeded to remove the rest of the stones. As soon as the snake found itself uncovered, it turned round, and spit its venom all over the face of the Negro, which immediately blinded him: however, with proper care, he recovered in a few weeks, and was perfectly restored to his sight [s]. The author observes, from frequent experience among the Negroes, that the bite of a snake is attended with great pain, swelling, and violent inflammations, though seldom mortal; but he imagines, that their poison differs in quality, according to the circumstances of their strength and resentment; since he has known the slightest bite from the same kind of snake often attended with almost fatal

[r] Smith, p. 149. [s] Epist. 15.

confe-

consequences. The Negroes esteem them excellent food, and prefer their flesh to any kind of animal diet, without distinguishing whether they are poisonous or not.

Scorpions are found in great numbers on the Gold Coast, one kind very small, the other about the size of a large cray-fish, to which it has a strong likeness; but this difference of bulk makes none in the quality of their poison, which is equally mortal in all. Bosman gives an accurate drawing of one from the life; but he says, that he has seen some as large as a lobster, and the whole body covered over with long hair. The scorpion is, indeed, one of the most ugly, as well as the most noxious of all animals. Some of them are provided with a sack full of poison, about half an inch wide, and situated near the tail, which they eject with great fury whenever they strike. The most certain antidote against the malignancy of this poison is, according to Barbot, crushing the scorpion into a poultice, and applying him to the wound [t]. Another specific remedy, according to him and Bosman, is rubbing the wound with the penis of a child, a superstitious notion, we imagine, they must have borrowed of the Negroes.

Every part of Guinea is filled with large black spiders, resembling in figure and size the tarantula. This ugly animal the Negroes call anonse; his body is of an oblong form, his head flat, broader before than behind, and his legs as thick as a man's finger. Bosman took one in his chamber, which he sent over to Europe, as a present to some virtuoso. Barbot and Smith tell us, that at Cape Coast, in the rainy months of June and July, they find a kind of spider larger than a beetle, but flat like that insect, greatly resembling a small crab; nay, Smith affirms, that he once catched one as large as the greatest sized land crab. He could easily perceive that it was a female; for under the belly hung a sack, in which several young were contained; and the vulgar opinion is, that this monstrous insect is venomous [u].

Among the other poisonous animals, the centipedes ought not to be forgot, as they are here found in great numbers. This is a flat insect, about nine inches long, spotted on the body and the head, having two long horns, with which it strikes. The sting of this animal is less maligant than the bite of the scorpion; it is however attended with great pain, and a considerable inflammation.

[t] Barbot, p. 127. [u] Bosman, Barbot, & Smith, ibid.

Smith

Smith describes an animal, which he calls the cock-roch, of a brown colour, the shape of a beetle, but two inches long in the body: this insect has an irreconcilable aversion to bugs, and is sure to extirpate those nauseous vermin wherever they appear. We shall conclude this account of reptiles and insects, with Bosman's relation of the ants on the Gold Coast: these vermin raise hills at least ten feet high, in the middle of the fields, and they frequently build large nests in the tops of lofty trees, whence they sometimes come down in myriads to the forts and chambers of the Europeans, and oblige them to abandon their beds in the middle of the night. They are so rapacious, that no animal can withstand them; for what individuals want in bulk, is sufficiently compensated by the number. They have frequently in the night attacked one of Bosman's live sheep, which he has found reduced to a perfect skeleton in the morning, and so artificially dissected, that the nicest anatomist could not exceed it. It is one of their amusements, says our author, to dissect fowls and chickens in this manner; nay, the very rats, with all their speed, cannot escape them. One of them no sooner lays hold of a rat, than that animal, as mischievous as themselves, is surely gone; for in attempting to make his escape, he is seized by a great number of others, who never part with him, till a body sufficient to remove the prey to a safe place is assembled. Bosman has placed a worm or beetle before one of them, who immediately went away, and returned in less than a minute with an army porportioned to the prey to be carried off. If this body proved insufficient, a messenger was detached for more; after which they seized their prey, and carried it away in good order, each of them visibly applying his strength in the proper direction to assist his associates. They are of various sizes, and of all colours. The sting of the red ant inflames to a great degree, and produces violent pain; but it soon wears off with the application of a little oil or honey. These are the least, and not much larger than the ants and pismires of Europe; though the other coloured ones are little short of an inch in length [w]. But we will not indulge ourselves in all the marvellous stories related of these surprising animals, both in Europe and Africa.

The want of flesh, and good beef, mutton, and pork on the Gold Coast, renders fish the more valuable and ne-

[w] Bosman, Epist. 11.

cessary,

ceſſary, this being the principal ſupport both of Negroes and Europeans. The wiſdom of Providence hath abundantly ſupplied the deficiency of the former, by prodigious ſhoals of the latter, with which all the ſea coaſts and rivers of that country abound. Both afford fiſh of various ſorts, of the moſt delicious kinds, and particularly the ſea, which might ſupply ten times the number of the inhabitants. The firſt that is mentioned by writers, is the Brazil cod, about the ſize, and nearly of the ſhape of that which is taken on the banks of Newfoundland. This is a fiſh in great repute for the delicacy of the flavour, the richneſs and fatneſs of the food. The next, called piſie pampher by the Negroes, is flat, about the ſize of a flounder, but greatly ſurpaſſing it in flavour and delicacy. Bream are catched in great abundance, and they are of three kinds, two of which are very fat and excellent; they go likewiſe by the name brojead. Among their ſea-fiſh may be reckoned the bonettoe, jacoe, pike, ſtock-fiſh, and above all, the pilchard, which is catched in the utmoſt abundance [x]. In a word, no part of the world produces greater plenty or variety; but as none are found that may not be met with on other coaſts, in lakes, and rivers, it would be unneſſary to extend the article.

Of the fiſh found on the coaſts, and in the lakes and rivers.

The reader cannot expect, that in a general hiſtory on ſo extenſive a plan, we ſhould ſpecify minutely every production of a country; ſufficient it is, that we point out ſuch as are peculiar to it, and the moſt uſeful to the natives, either in trade, or in ſupplying the neceſſaries of life. To begin with the dendrology of the Gold Coaſt; the firſt tree we ſhall take notice of, is the palm, whence the Negroes draw their wine. It indeed claims the pre-eminence, ſince, with the addition of a little bread and fiſh, it affords the chief ſupport of the natives. The firſt production of this tree is its nut, which roaſted young, eats deliciouſly. When it is full grown and ripe, it is covered with a brown ſhell, black on the hinder part. In this the oil is contained, obtained by expreſſion, in the ſame manner as oil of olives. The natural colour of palm oil is red; but if kept for any ſpace of time, it uſually turns white. Moſt of the Europeans on their firſt arrival, think this oil nauſeous, and to a degree unpalatable; but to a Negroe it affords the moſt luxurious ſauce, and the former come by habit not to deſpiſe it. Boſman preferred it in ſeveral diſhes to oil of olives, and was convinced from long

Of the trees, ſhrubs, plants, roots, pulſe, &c.

[x] Vide auct. citat. ibid.

experi-

experience, that it is ſtrengthening and wholeſome. After the oil is expreſſed, the pulp is eaten by the natives, but Europeans give it to fatten their hogs; for which purpoſe it is excellent, rendering their fleſh firm, ſolid, and ſweet [y].

The next and moſt valuable part of its produce is the wine, which they draw off by lopping the branches, and reducing the tree to a ſtump, when it is full grown. After it has ſtood a few days in this condition, it is bored in the thickeſt part of the trunk, and a ſmall pipe or reed introduced into the wound, which begins immediately to bleed, and continues dropping for the ſpace of a month. When the tree is almoſt drained, a fire is kindled at the bottom, which makes it bleed afreſh, till the whole juice is drawn off. They receive it into bottles and pitchers, in which it is kept for the year round, though, unlike other wine, it loſes by age. The moſt agreeable way of drinking it is freſh from the tree, and then it is an exceeding pleaſant liquor, but withal ſo ſtrong, that it ſoon intoxicates. What the Negroes bring from the interior countries is adulterated, and mixed with water; yet it is greedily ſought after by the meaner ſort of people, who find means to produce the deſired effects by increaſing the doſe. When the palm-tree is drained of the wine, it is of no farther uſe, as it never buds after; however, it ſerves for fuel, plank, and other houſhold neceſſaries; and its leaves, when green, are uſed in making ropes, nets, covering houſes, and the like [z].

Another kind of palm-wine is peculiar to the country of Fantin, and called quacker, from its ſurpriſingly exhilarating qualities. It exceeds the other greatly in delicacy of flavour, as well as in ſtrength, half the quantity of what is uſually taken of the other to enliven converſation, being of this more than the ſtouteſt man is able to carry off. The tree whence it is drawn is a kind of dwarf palm. A third ſort of palm-wine is called pardon, pleaſant to the taſte, but weaker than any of the former. This is drawn from a peculiar ſpecies of palm, in the countries of Ankobar, Abrokoe, Axim, and Ante. The fourth and laſt kind is made in the countries of Jabi and Adom: the flavour is entirely different, but not leſs pleaſant; and as to ſtrength, it does not greatly exceed milk, to the taſte of which it bears ſome reſemblance. If it be not drank freſh from the tree, it loſes all its flavour, the only

y Boſman, Epiſt. 16. z Barbot, p. 152.

quality

quality it possesses; and keeping it for ten hours, will make it as sour as vinegar. This wine is called crissia, never used but for the sake of variety by the Europeans, although the Negroes are fond of it, from a notion that it occasions the parts of generation to grow to an enormous size, a quality in great esteem among them. Bosman is inclined to credit this notion, as he has frequently observed, that the Negroes of those countries seem to confirm the truth of the remark, by an extraordinary proportion of this member[a].

The trunk of a full grown palm tree is about six feet in circumference, and little more in height; but the branches shoot up at least twenty feet. The tree called quacker is about half the size; its branches called bamboes, are used in covering houses and several other purposes. On each side the bamboe, grow the long slender slips, which are the leaves. The pardon grows after the manner of the cocoa nut tree, though upon an infinitely more slender stalk; in the same way the crissia tree likewise shoots up, though with this difference, that it does not exceed a fourth of the height or thickness of the other. From every trunk about five stalks or branches put forth, from each of which wine is drawn.

The cocoa tree claims the next place, as it is indisputably the most beneficial to mankind, except the palm, if the natives of this country knew how to improve the advantage in the manner they do in Asia. Here only the nut is used, merely for food, without any other convenience resulting from it. As this tree has already been described, we shall omit all particulars concerning it, although it is a native of the Gold Coast, and grows there in as great perfection as in any part of the globe.

In the country of Axim grow great plenty of sweet and sour oranges; the first are excellent, and very little inferior to those in China. It is questioned, however, whether they are natives of the coast, as they only grow in a few places near the European settlements. Lime trees are found all over the coast, especially at Mouree, where it is usual to prepare for sale above two hundred auns of lime juice, yearly, each aun valued at thirty shillings[b]. This is a kind of liquid measure, in use among the Negroes.

Bosman describes the papay tree, as entirely different from the account of other writers. Most authors that we have seen, say, that it is no more than six feet high,

[a] Bosman, ubi supra. [b] Artus, p. 82.

bearing

bearing neither branches nor leaves; whereas according to Bosman, some of them shoot up at least thirty feet. At first indeed, the fruit grows at the top of the trunk, without branches; but as the tree grows older, it puts forth branches towards the top, which resemble so many fresh stocks growing out of the old, like it bearing fruit, at the higher extremity; from whence likewise spring other branches in the manner of reeds, a little crooked, but hollow, and at the extremity of these grow fine broad leaves, not unlike vine leaves, but larger. The fruit, or what is properly termed the papay, is about half the size of a cocoa-nut, of an oval figure, green without and white within; but with age this white declines to a red. It contains a great number of sweet kernels, which in fact are the seeds whence the tree is produced: the rest of the fruit greatly resembles in taste the pompion. Multitudes of this kind of trees grow along the coast, and even the ignorant natives have distinguished them into male and female, because the former bears no fruit, but are in continual blossom; nay they have farther observed, that the female bears in the greatest abundance, when the male stands near; thus admitting the blossom of the female to be the proper nidus for the male seed[c]. This remark may easily be accounted for, upon the system at present received by naturalists.

The banana tree grows here in great perfection, but the reader is by this time so well acquainted with its fruit, that we shall pass it over in this place. The gardens of the curious afford pomegranates; but from all we are able to learn, the Gold Coast is not the natural soil of this tree. At Mouree is a vine, which Bosman calls the Moureese vine, it growing in no other part of the coast: it produces a double crop of grapes, viz. in August and January, and would doubtless, says our author, yield a prodigious quantity, were it properly pruned and cultivated. It yields a delicious blue grape, but apparently not indigenous, as Bosman says, that it is less juicy than their grapes in Holland. It is remarkable, that vines will neither grow to any height or produce in any other part of the coast than Mouree, considering the richness of the soil and warmth of the climate; but the heat of the sun may perhaps be too vehement for this plant. Barbot, Bosman, Smith, and Artus, describe a fruit called the Cormantin apple, because there it grows in the greatest abundance,

[c] Bosman, Epist. 16.

which

which we believe is peculiar to this coast. It is about the size of a walnut, of a reddish colour inclining to yellow, but the husk green; in the core are contained four large flat black kernels, surrounded by the pulp or fruit, which is red and white, of a pungent sweet taste, rather acid than sweet, like an unripe China orange. This fruit is pleasant, and refreshing to the sick, but especially useful in diarrhœas and fluxes, when boiled with palm-wine and sugar, being then gratefully astringent [d].

Bosman is extremely out of humour with M. Foquenburg, for declaring, that round Elmina, for several miles, the country produces no trees, grass, or plants, of any kind; whereas the whole country is finely adorned with lofty trees and cooling shades, less fruitful indeed than other parts of the coast, but far from barren in any particular. Some of them furnish a shade so thick and cool, that art, says Bosman, may blush to see herself so far outdone by nature, it being impossible for human genius to contrive groves so well suited to the warmth of the climate, and the pleasure of sight. "I remember, says he, to have read in Olearius, of trees large enough to shelter two thousand men with their spreading boughs, the fruit being so large, that the shell was capable of containing a shepherd and his whole flock; a particular I will not dispute with Olearius, but will affirm with him, that I have seen trees capable of shading not only two but twenty thousand men, were they to stand close, and so tall that a musquet shot could hardly reach the top." This is probably the capot tree, so celebrated by naturalists, on which grows a species of cotton, used here in stuffing beds instead of feathers, which are too hot for the climate. The wood of the tree is light, porous, and pithy, scarce fit for any other purpose than the making canoes. At Axim, there is one which ten men could not grasp; and in Ilha del Principe, or *Princes Island*, another, the trunk of which could not be surrounded by four-and-twenty men, their arms at the full stretch; not that the body itself is so enormous, but the sprouts adhere in such a manner, as seem to form one uniform trunk [e]. In a word, the Gold Coast affords fruit trees of all sorts, and wood for all purposes. About Ante, are trees excellent for all manner of houshold furniture; and at Rio Gabon, great plenty of red and yellow wood. Bosman imagines, that good masts for ship-

[d] Barbot, p. 200. Artus, & Bosman, ubi supra. [e] Bosman, Epist. 16.

ping

ping might be found in the country, were the natives to turn their attention to navigation and commerce.

Of the grain and culinary vegetables.

As to the grain of the coast, it consists of the great and small milhio, supposed to be the Turkish wheat, which ripens twice every year, affording a crop in August, and another in January. Rice is likewise produced in great abundance and perfection, in all the low marshy grounds, and near the banks of lakes and rivers. The other vegetables, as yams, potatoes, pease, beans, &c. it would be tedious to enumerate: we must, however, give a short account of some species of beans peculiar to the country; one is of a large sort, the pod being two feet long, and three or four inches round, containing several large beans of a bright red colour. Another sort, is of directly the same shape and colour, but of the size of what we call the Windsor bean; the last are reckoned wholesome and nutritive; and both kinds grow in the manner of French beans, propt up, or creeping along the side of a hedge. A third sort of bean may more properly be called a root, as, like a potatoe, it grows under-ground, inclosed in a slender husk: it is by the natives called jojooties, and is extremely delicate and sweet, as well as wholesome. Another species of beans grow on a shrub, like a goosberry bush: they have pods resembling those of green pease; but as they are not much in request, authors do not describe it so minutely. A fifth sort is called gobbe gobbes, and grow two in a pod under-ground, shooting out a leaf above the surface of the earth: these are the worst of all beans, having something harsh and unpleasant in the taste, yet are they much valued by the natives. The sixth sort is also a subterraneous bean, known to the Europeans but a few years; these are called Angola beans, and are supposed to have been transplanted from that kingdom: they are, when well fried, a very pleasant dish. A seventh, and last kind, grow also under the ground; but these are improperly termed beans, as they grow in no pod, though they bear some resemblance in taste to that species of pulse, but still more to a hazel nut, when they are eat raw, which is the most usual and best method. Sometimes they are triturated, soaked in water, and then pressed through a cloth. The liquor is boiled with rice, and in every part of the country is used for milk, and indeed might easily be mistaken for a dish of made milk, when relished with sugar and cinnamon [f].

[f] Barbot, p. 201. Bosm. ibid. Artus, apud De Bruy, p. 83.

Here

Here alſo grows the molaguetta or Guinea pepper, though not ſo abundantly as on the Pepper Coaſt; the piement, or Spaniſh pepper, cardamoms, and a number of roots, fruits, and grains, common almoſt to all countries. The piement, which is of two kinds, grows in great plenty upon a ſhrub, almoſt the ſize of gooſberry buſhes in Holland. Both kinds are at firſt green, but afterwards change colour, the larger ſort to a beautiful red, but the ſmaller to a red and black. The ſmaller is about a fourth of the ſize of the other, but then the plant that produces it is ſix times as high, but directly of the ſame ſpecies. Tobacco is alſo a native of the Gold Coaſt, produced in plenty, and conſumed without diſcretion, no people on earth being more addicted than the Negroes to ſmoking. The uſual pipe among them is a reed, with a ſtone bowl to contain the tobacco, which, inſtead of holding in their teeth, or in their hands, they reſt upon the ground, and in this manner converſe with great ſolemnity. Many of their pipes are ſix feet long, and might eaſily be miſtaken for ſome badge of authority, but for the eternal ſmoke proceeding from them. So fond of this plant are both the male and female Negroes, that they will ſuffer extreme hunger rather than want tobacco, which is abſolutely neceſſary to their felicity. This leaf grows here about two feet high, near eight inches long, and three broad; the plant bears a ſmall bell flower, which, when ripe, turns to ſeed.

We ſhall conclude this ſhort and imperfect account of the natural produce of the Gold Coaſt, by mentioning a ſpecies of cabbage, which the Dutch call kool, and the natives beeſi: this they chew like tobacco or beetel in the mouth, ſwallow the juice, and ſpit out the fibrous parts: the taſte is harſh and bitter, and its aſtringency is not inferior to the arum, yet it is diuretic, and as ſuch frequently uſed by the Europeans [g]. To this may be added, the vaſt quantity of ſalt made on the Gold Coaſt; but as this is an artificial production from the ſea-water evaporated, we ſhall omit it, to proceed to the hiſtory of the Ivory Coaſt.

g Boſman, Epiſt. 16.

CHAP. LIV.

History of the Ivory Coast.

SECT. I.

Containing the Geography, with a Description, of the Towns, Rivers, &c. on the Ivory Coast. The Manners of the different Nations; and a particular Account of the Kingdom of Guiomere.

Geography of the Ivory Coast.

GEOGRAPHERS and seamen are divided in their opinions concerning the extent and limits of the Ivory Coast; some confining it between the Rio Suero da Costa, where the Gold Coast begins, and Grova, two miles east of Cape Palmas. Others again stretch its boundaries from Cape Palmas to Cape Tres Puntas, all that shore being known to mariners under the appellation of the Tooth Coast. The first subdivide it into three provinces, viz. the Ivory, the Malagentes, as the French call it, and the Quaqua Coast; but the Dutch give all three the general appellation of Tand Kust, distinguishing it only by the nature and disposition of the natives, as the coast of Good Men, and that of Bad Men [a]. However, the most precise and accurate limits are contained within Cape Apollonia to the east, and Cape Palmas to the west, in which manner we find it laid down in the Atlas of the sieur Robert, and distinct charts of that judicious compiler Prevôt. The Hollanders have called the eastern part of this coast by the name of Quaquas, because the natives, on the approach of a ship, are continually repeating that word, which Villault imagines expresses a kind of welcome; observing, that the master of an entertainment usually repeats it to his guests. But that we may not engage in endless controversy, we will begin with describing the situation of the towns and villages.

The towns and villages on the Ivory Coast.

The principal towns of the Ivory Coast, are, Grova or Grua, Great Tabo, Little Tabo, Great Drewin, Batrou, Laho, Apollonia, and Vallo. Each of these stand at the mouths of those rivers whence they borrow their

[a] Barbot, p. 138. Des March. tom. i. p. 157.

names;

names; and as for the interior country, it is but little known, the natives refusing the Europeans leave to build settlements, or even to trade among them, except by means of the coast negroes, and even this with the most circumspect caution. Here the same commodities are found as in the former divisions, viz. gold, ivory, and slaves, the former in the greatest plenty; but no regular tariff or table of the different proportions of each was ever settled. Grova stands three miles east of Cape Palmas; Great Tabo, thirty miles from Grova, east; Little Tabo, four miles farther east; thence to Great Drewin eleven miles, thence to Batrou nineteen miles, to Laho seven, and from thence to Cape Apollonia twenty miles; the whole amounting to ninety-four miles. Although this coast be crowded with towns and villages, we shall describe only such as are frequented by Europeans. Great Tabo is known at sea by a remarkably high green cape in its neighbourhood, covered with wood. The current usually sets east-north-east, and sometimes south-south-east, on this coast. Little Tabo is known by mariners from a high rock, at a mile and a half distance from it. The cape in its neighbourhood is covered with high trees, dispersed in an irregular manner, and the road is about eighteen fathom deep. Near the town flows a small river, called by the Portuguese Rio de San Pedro; having on the west certain mountains, to which they give the names of Santa Apollonia, Druyn, Drewin Petri, likewise called Great Drewin, standing upon the river St. Andrew. It is known at sea by some buildings on a rising ground, at a great distance; also by several groups of trees dispersed up and down the coast. Besides the town, three villages, about a quarter of a mile distant from each other, are plainly seen from the ships; all of them plentifully stocked with cattle, with which the fields seem covered. The inhabitants of this district have the reputation of being the most savage and barbarous on the whole coast; and some writers scruple not to call them anthropophagi, affirming, that their teeth are sharp, and pointed like a bodkin. Barbot advises mariners to touch with caution on this shore; the natives, says he, bring on board some beautiful ivory, as a bait to draw the seamen on shore, and perhaps to devour them. This is the more probable, from their keeping their goods at so high a price, as will assuredly ever prevent Europeans from purchasing them, although they ask for every

thing they ſee, and are greatly incenſed if they meet with a refuſal. Their ſuſpicion and jealouſy are predominant qualities; inſomuch that, on the leaſt noiſe, they will precipitate themſelves headlong into the ſea, and ſwim to the canoes [b].

Deſcription of the river St. Andrew, and the adjacent country.

The river St. Andrew is a fine deep ſtream, increaſed near its mouth by the falling in of another river, both joining to form a large road. The entrance is ſurrounded with lofty trees, beautiful verdant meadows, and rich fields of great extent. Nature ſeems to have intended this place for a fortreſs, without any other defence than its ſituation. About five hundred paces from the mouth of the river, a peninſula runs a great way into the ſea, joined to the continent by a ſlender neck of land, not above five or ſix fathoms broad. The whole peninſula is a high level rock; having a platform four hundred feet in circumference, and commanding all the neighbouring country. On every ſide it is ſurrounded by the ſea, the rock perfectly ſteep, and truly inacceſſible on the ſouth, eaſt, and weſt ſides; the neck of land alſo being ſo eaſily defended, that a battery of five guns would render it impregnable. At the foot of a little eminence, north of the neck of land, there is a fine freſh water ſpring, capable of ſupplying a large garriſon, and of being ſecured by the cannon of the fort [c].

The land-marks are here ſo diſtinct, that it is impoſſible for ſhips to miſtake them. Here are lofty, thick, and ſhady trees, with three or four large villages, that ſtrike the eye all at once, within leſs than half a mile of each other; beſides ſeveral other marks, which we ſhall leave to the writers of voyages to recite. All the fields and meadows round the mouth of the river are watered by pleaſant meandering ſtreams, that fertilize the ground, and render it fit for producing every ſpecies of grain, fruits, and roots; but eſpecially maize, millet, rice, peaſe, yams, and melons, which grow with ſurpriſing increaſe. Fine natural groves of oranges, limes, cocoa-nut trees, and citrons, grow here, their boughs ſo cloſely intermingled, that you might imagine all thoſe ſeveral fruits were the produce of one large tree. Here the ſugar-cane, with a thouſand other plants, which ſpring up without cultivation in the greateſt perfection, are abandoned to the ravages of the elephant, and as haunts for wild beaſts. In a word, whatever the Gold Coaſt pro-

[b] Villault, p. 117. Smith, p. 113. [c] Barbot, ibid.

duces,

duces, is also found here, in greater abundance and perfection, and, indeed, the fruits and vegetables of the warmer climates seem all to be united on the Ivory Coast[d].

The manners of the natives in this district.

As to the natives, the men wear a loose dress, resembling a surplice, which hangs down to the knees; and the women, a narrow cloth wound round their waists, and turned in at the sides. Many of them indeed go perfectly naked, and seem to pride themselves on shewing what nature dictates to the rudest barbarians to conceal. However, the richer of both sexes have a paan of fine cloth; and the men wear poniards, or long knives by their sides. The women are small, but neatly proportioned; their features are regular, their eyes lively, and their teeth white, small, and even. The men are likewise well built; nor are they deficient in courage or understanding; but the European traders having carried off some, they are become so suspicious, that nothing can prevail on them to set foot on board, before the captain of the ship has gone through the ceremony of putting a drop of sea water into his eye. This rite they look upon as their protection, and a solemn engagement that no injury shall be offered them; however, they cannot be prevailed upon to go under hatches, or enter the cabbin. They are extremely fond of bracelets of iron and ivory, mounted with little bells, which they put round their arms, and the small of each leg. Those bells inspire them with additional joy in dancing, of which they are passionately fond, as indeed are all the Negroes. The women in general have a fine, easy, graceful air, when they dance; but this dignity is frequently intermixed and broken, by some ridiculous and burlesque grimaces[e].

Their extreme passion for dancing.

East of the river St. Andrew are at least a dozen of craggy, broken, and ragged mountains, that stretch for three or four miles along the coast; yet are the intermediate fields rich and fruitful, watered in this short space by near twenty rivulets; and indeed were the inhabitants a little more civilized, no country on earth bids fairer for a profitable trade and useful commerce. The elephants must be of an enormous size, many of their teeth weighing above two hundred pounds. Slaves and gold are likewise in great plenty, but Europeans can never learn in what manner the maritime natives procure the latter, which they preserve an inviolable secret. If

[d] Snoeck, apud. Bos. Epist. 22. [e] Des March. tom i. p. 158.

they are preſſed to explain themſelves, they point their finger to the mountains on the north-eaſt, intimating that it comes from thence. It is probable, however, that ſome part of it is found in their rivers, waſhed by them from the mountains. But all thoſe advantages are loſt, through the barbarous diſpoſition of the natives, who are in no reſpect to be truſted, their courteſy being merely the effect of deſign, and a ſnare to draw the mariners on ſhore, nor is their cunning inferior to their cruelty. In the year 1677, an Engliſh merchantman loſt three of her crew by this method of ſeduction; the following year a Portugueſe trader had nine men murdered; and ſoon after a Dutch ſhip met with the ſame fate, all her crew on ſhore being kidnapped, murdered, and in all probability eaten by thoſe ſavages, to the number of fourteen men. From this bloody diſpoſition of the natives, the Portugueſe have given the name Malagente to the Ivory Coaſt: far from attempting to drive a commerce, they do not ever venture to approach it even for wood or water, without aiming the ſeamen, and giving ſtrict charge that they keep cloſe to their boats. From hence we may judge how little this coaſt is known to Europeans, and how imperfect all the relations of the geography, produce, laws, and manners, of the country and natives muſt prove.

The cruel diſpoſition of the natives.

Villault deſcribes a village, which he calls Dromwa Petri, probably Little Drewin, as ſeven miles diſtant from the river St. Andrew[f]. It is ſituated, ſays he, between the ſeventh and eighteenth red mountain, and known at ſea by a tree of great height and bulk. As to the inhabitants, they are no leſs brutal and ſavage than all the others of the coaſt. In this general way do voyagers ſpeak of a country, of which they think themſelves under the neceſſity of giving ſome account. Between this and the river Cotro or Kotrou (A), he could ſee no other villages; from which circumſtances, and finding no canoes on the coaſt, he infers that this diſtrict is but thinly peopled. Two miles eaſt of Kotro ſtands the town of Laho, near the cape of that name. It is known at ſea by this

[f] Villault, p. 117.

(A) The river Cotro, Kotro, or Kotrou, runs to the eaſt of the river Jagos, and is probably the ſame which Smith and ſome other mariners call the Black River, either from its depth, or the muddineſs of its waters.

cape,

cape, which is a low point, projecting into the sea, and covered with wood; among which may be distinguished one high tree, that rears its lofty head far above the rest, serving thereby for a land mark. According to Des Marchais, Cape Laho is situated in 5 deg. 10 min. north latitude, equally distant from Cape Palmas and Cape Tres Puntas, and the western frontier of that district, called the country of the Good People [g].

Here the ivory is large, good, and in great abundance. Barbot speaks of the town of Laho, as a large and populous place, extending a league along the coast, the shore being composed of a beautiful yellow sand, against which the sea beats with great violence. The neighbouring country affords all kinds of provisions, better and cheaper than on the coast of St. Andrew and Drewin. The natives are of a mild, tractable, and gentle disposition, but ready to catch at every opportunity of raising the price of their ivory, according to the demand, and the number of ships they observe on the coast. They are visited by interlopers of all nations; the free ships of England, Holland, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns; whence the occasions of raising their price occur too frequently [h].

The different disposition of the natives of Laho.

Bosman mentions a large river, that runs about a mile west of Laho, dividing itself into two branches, one of which falls into the river St. Andrew, and the other continues its course eastward for several leagues, before it empties itself into the sea. Laho is planted like Axim, with a great number of coco-trees; and that if the coast were as bold, and the shore embellished by a fort, it would be difficult for mariners to distinguish the one from the other; so strong a resemblance have the neighbouring countries of both districts.

Passing Cape Laho, the coast falls in directly north-east, forming a fine bay, at the head of which opens the mouth of the little river, called Jaque Laho, or Das Balbas, running directly north and south, but not navigable. Seven miles south-east, or rather east-south-east of this, stands the village Wollo, Vallock, or Wattalock, which has some little trade in ivory. Next follows Jack a Jack, a village; and close by that eastward, Korbi Laho, the little pool, called the Bottomless Pit, standing between the two last places. The English and Dutch had both given this little space of salt water its name from its extraordinary depth, several unsuccessful attempts having

g Des March. tom. i. p. 157. h Barbot, p. 138.

been made to found it; but at length it was found to be no more than sixty fathoms, its supposed depth arising from a tide at the bottom, which carried away the lead faster than they could furnish line. This current driving to the south-west, Uring and Atkins advise mariners from quitting Jaque Laho before they have a fair wind, capable of surmounting the difficulty; as, excepting the pool, there is no anchorage for several leagues along the coast. The best method, say those writers, is to cast anchor before Gunno, in the district of Ado; or at Korbi Laho, or in the mouth of Rio de Suero da Costa, this last road, especially, being equally convenient for the inhabitants of either places to come on board with the produce of the country, viz. cloths and stuffs of Quaquas, ivory, and provisions. We are told of none of the qualities of these Negroes, besides their great skill in swimming and diving; it being the common diversion of the European sailors to throw bits of iron, coral, glass, and the like, over-board, after which the Negroes will dive with such rapidity, as to catch them before they reach the bottom[1].

The alertness of the Negroes in swimming.

From the Rio de Suero da Costa to Cape Apollonia the coast is low and even, extending itself for a course of twelve miles eastward, bordered with large trees, and covered with villages, the chief of which are, Boqun, Iffini Peguena, Great Iffini, Albiani, Jabo, and Akanimina. The first stands at a small distance from the shore, near the mouth of the river Da Costa, surrounded by woods, and pleasantly situated. Iffini Peguena and Great Iffini, are both situated on the sea coast, at the distance of three or four miles, and between them are a number of villages, three of them very considerable, but their names unknown. Great Iffini is built at the entrance of a small river, which during the dry season is lost in the sands, but discharges itself into the sea, during the rainy months. This town was pillaged and burnt in the year 1681, by the inland Negroes; but it has since recovered its splendor, or rather exceeds what it ever had been, by the addition of a great number of houses and inhabitants. Where the river empties itself in the sea, it forms a small island, very commodious for building a fort; but our European companies have hitherto made no attempts of that nature, dreading perhaps the vicinity of those ill disposed neighbours to the westward. Great Iffini is celebrated for the purity of its gold, which probably comes

[1] Snoeck, apud De Bruy, p. 491.

from

from the kingdom of Assiento, at the source of the Rio de Suero da Costa, a country rich in gold, but little known to the Europeans.

East of Issini are the little districts and towns of Albiani and Tabo, the former six miles, the latter ten from it, both surrounded by high groves of palms, seen at a great distance at sea, and pretty much frequented by European shipping. A mile farther east, and half a mile west of Cape Apollonia, stands the village Akanimina, on a rising ground; commanding an extensive sea and land prospect. The interior country between Boqun and this village is high, rugged, and mountainous, but affording some fine gold, ivory, and a few slaves. The gold dust of these two places is found commonly in six fathoms deep, for two miles along the coast; and the Negroes mix it with pulverised copper so expertly, that it requires touching to discover the fraud.

Kingdom of Guiomere governed by a queen.

Near Cape Apollonia is the kingdom of Guiomere, governed in the year 1703 by a queen, called Assamouchon, a princess much respected by her neighbours, and beloved by her subjects. She was to have been succeeded in the throne by her brother; for being of an active and warlike humour, she disliked the authority of a husband, spent her whole time in the camp, and headed her own armies. Such was her good fortune and bravery, that she was never unsuccessful in any enterprize, nor was the smallest advantage ever gained over her troops, either by the Negroes or Europeans. She was passionately fond of the French, and entered into a treaty with the chevalier Damon, which continued without the least infraction, during the greater part of her life. So great an admirer was she of the lively and polite humour of this nation, that she frequently declared she had rather be a subject to France, than the sovereign of any other European state. This kingdom of Guiomere has but narrow limits towards the sea, but stretches a great way towards the inland parts; it is well peopled, rich, and renowned by its commerce. Gold and ivory are in considerable quantities found here; and her majesty's perpetual wars always produced a good market of slaves [k].

According to Des Marchais, Cape Apollonia stands in 4 deg. 50 min. of north latitude, half way between the Rio Suero da Costa, and Cape Tres Puntas. It is remarkable for its height, and the lofty trees with which

[k] Vid. auct. citat.

it

it is covered [1]. The natives have formed themselves into a kind of republican government, under the protection, or rather tyranny, of the Dutch, who prohibit their trading with any other nation; and hence it is that this coast is so little known to the other Europeans, and so inaccurately described by the Hollanders, who find their interest in concealing the nature of the produce and wealth of the country. Snoeck allows, however, that the country between Issini and Cape Apollonia is well peopled, and covered with large and small villages. It had its name, says he, from the Portuguese, who discovered it upon St. Apollonia's day: it points a little southward, but appears low and strait along the coast or shore, raising itself into three high mountains behind, which are seen from a great distance at sea, in clear weather. Upon each of the mountains are several distinct and separate groves or groups of trees, that give the prospect a very cool and agreeable look; and in the intermediate vallies are three or four pretty villages, built close to the sea side; but the continual beating of the waves upon a flat and sandy shore, renders landing difficult, and commerce here extremely inconvenient, which nothing could balance besides the great advantages derived from it.

SECT. II.

A Description of the Country West from Cape Apollonia; of the Animals, Produce, and People; with their Manners, Religion, and Government, &c.

Description of the country westward from cape Apollonia.

IN general, if we except a few capes, all the coast from Cape Palmas to Cape Apollonia appears not only so low, but so equal and strait, that it is very difficult for ships to distinguish places; and indeed, besides these capes, the only distinct land-marks are the heights and mountains round Drewin. The landing all along the coast is dangerous, on account of the high surfs and swelling waves that roll in from the vast southern ocean, and break with great violence upon the sands. The Negroes alone are perfectly acquainted with this sea, and brave enough to combat all the fury of its winds, tides, and waves, in their little canoes. From Cape Palmas to Cape Apollonia these canoes are employed in loading

[1] Tom. i. p. 185.

and

and unloading the ſhipping, that dread coming near the ſhore, and being ſhattered in pieces by the waves; nor are they always ſafe by keeping at a diſtance from the ſhore, as the ground is ſo rough that they frequently loſe their anchors. Here the ſouth winds blow the moſt frequently, ſtopping the land breezes, and thoſe ſtrong and unhealthy ſtenches that proceed from the villages of almoſt all Negroes.

Deſcription of the natives.

Round Cape Apollonia there are large tracts of fallow land, in which the Negroes now ſow Indian corn, a ſpecies of grain which they believe was imported hither by the Portugueſe. The complexion of the natives is ſo black, that Atkins compares it to the fineſt jet: in their tempers they are lively, enterpriſing, and indefatigable in commerce. Their huts are neater and cleaner than thoſe of their neighbours, and their dreſs more elegant, ſet off with ornaments of gold, ivory, and kowris. The hair or wool of their heads is divided into an infinity of ſmall treſſes, which they adorn with bits of oyſter ſhells and other ſhining baubles. On the left cheek they have a ſcar, of the figure of a poinard, and frequently the reſt of the body is marked in the ſame manner, to denote the warlike diſpoſition of the perſon; a cuſtom of great antiquity here, and communicated to ſeveral other Negro nations, ſerving to diſtinguiſh the inland from the maritime natives; the former of which are often reduced to ſlavery by the latter. Thoſe ſlaves they ſell at four ounces of gold duſt per head; and, allowing an hundred per cent. on goods, they will thus be purchaſed at eight pounds, ſterling each, out of which the caboceroes demand twenty ſhillings duty, and the palaaver men, or great council, ten ſhillings; whence our author concludes, that thieving or kidnapping ſlaves is more ſyſtematical here than in any other country, where no certain price or duty is affixed.

From Cape Apollonia to the river Mankaw, where the province of Axim, the firſt diviſion of the Gold Coaſt begins, are two or three fine villages. Two in particular are beautiful, ſituated amidſt groves of palm and coco trees; but the trade, for which they ſtand advantageouſly, is neglected. From hence to Axim the ſhore takes its courſe ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and near the village of Boggio the river Mankaw empties itſelf into the ſea, at the mouth of which the Negroes find a conſiderable quantity of gold. This is all we know of the Ivory Coaſt; no author having pretended

pretended to give a description of their towns, or an exact chart of the topography and distances of places [m]. To this we shall subjoin all that can be extracted out of voyagers, of the produce and manners of the people and country in general, nothing at all being known of their laws and policy.

Produce of the country. Every country within the limits of the Ivory Coast is fruitful in rice, pease, beans, gooseberries, citrons, oranges, and coconuts; and the natives bring frequently on board large rich sugar-canes; a circumstance which intimates, that this commodity might be cultivated to advantage here. In a word, the Ivory Coast is one of the finest divisions of Guinea; the prospect of the mountains, and vallies filled with villages, is delightful, most of those little towns being surrounded with lofty palms and coco trees. The soil of the high land is a reddish earth, which with the perpetual verdure of the trees forms an agreeable mixture of colours. Cotton and indigo are the spontaneous growth of the provinces of Great Drewin and St. Andrew, which are indeed the richest of the whole. Palm wine and oil are plentiful; together with a species of fruit, growing on a sort of palm tree, which the natives call tombo, or bourbon. This the Negroes eat with great pleasure, drinking at the same time a wine, drawn from the same tree, mixed with water; its strength rendering it unfit for use alone and unqualified.

Animals of the coast. All sorts of tame animals, sheep, cows, goats, and hogs, are so numerous, that they are sold for almost nothing; a few shillings being sufficient to keep a whole family in beef, mutton, and pork for several days. As to fish, the coast supplies them in as great abundance and variety; but the most remarkable are the sea bull; zingana, in America called pantonshir; and the sea devil, so termed by Des Marchais. The first, called also the horned fish, is about three feet long, exclusive of his tail. His body is square, of an unequal thickness at both extremities, being every-where about five feet in circumference. His skin is rough, strong, and filled with pointed knobs, but not prickly or covered with shells, every-where spotted with different colours, a mixture of grey, violet, and white. The head resembles that of a hog, but terminating in a proboscis, like an elephant; the animal having no other passage for his aliment than through his trunk. In his stomach nothing besides sea-weeds and

[m] Vide auct. citat. ibid.

some

ſome ſmall fiſhes was found. His eyes are large, and fringed with a kind of ſtrong hard hair, and his forehead armed with two horns, bony, ſtrong, rough, and pointed at the extremity, about ſix inches in length; on his back roſe two excreſcences, about three inches high, which run from the baſe of the horns almoſt to the tail; the tail ſeemed to be compoſed of two parts, the one fleſhy, and covered with a continuation of the ſkin of the body, being in fact a part of the vertebræ of the back, but more flatted and pliant; the other a thick fin, of a brown colour, ſtreaked with parallel white lines, ſerving for a kind of defence, as well as a rudder to the animal.

As to the zingana, it is a voracious animal, with a flat head, large, red, and fiery eyes, two rows of ſtrong teeth, the body round, and terminating in a ſtrong tail, covered with a tough ſkin, not ſcaly, but ſpotted. The fins are ſtrong, and aſſiſt the animal to dart with incredible rapidity at his prey. Nothing comes amiſs to the voracious appetite of this monſter; but above all, it is delighted with human fleſh.

The third animal deſcribed by Des Marchais is the ſea devil, about twenty-five feet long, and proportionably thick. The moſt remarkable parts of this creature are projecting angles from his body, of a hard, horny ſubſtance, and ſo ſharp, that a ſtroke of them is extremely dangerous. The tail long, and taper like a whip, is armed with a ſharp, keen point, with which he frequently darts backward; and his back covered with hard excreſcences, two inches high, and pointed like a hook. The head is large, joined immediately to the body, without the ſmalleſt appearance of a neck, and furniſhed with flat, cutting teeth. Nature has beſtowed on this monſter four eyes, two near the gills, large and round, and two others on the forehead, of a ſmaller ſize; but all of them diſtinct. On each ſide the gullet are three horns, of an equal length and thickneſs. That on the right ſide, which ſtands between the other two, meaſures about three feet in length, and an inch and a half in circumference at its inſertion, terminating gradually in a ſharp point; but as it is yielding and flexible, it is capable of giving but little offence, or affording any protection to the animal: to conclude, the fleſh is tough and ill-taſted, though eagerly ſought after by the Negroes, perhaps for no other reaſon than that it is ſcarce.

General manners of the people.

As to the people, they are rather above the common ſtature, clean limbed, and well proportioned; but their features on the firſt glance are hideous; yet, notwithſtanding

ſtanding the prejudices conceived from their unhappy aſpect, Villault and Des Marchais agree in calling them the moſt rational, civilized, and poliſhed people in all Guinea, and the ſame character they bear among all their neighbours. The reader muſt obſerve, that we ſpeak of the natives of the Quaqua coaſt; that is, from the river Drewin to Cape Apollonia; for as to the others, all authors repreſent them as the moſt barbarous, cruel, and ſavage of all nations. "However ſavage the aſpect and external appearance of the Negroes of this coaſt (ſpeaking of the Quaqua coaſt) may appear, they are," ſays Barbot, gentle in their nature, honeſt in their dealings, ſociable, and well diſpoſed:" a picture the very reverſe of what Smith has drawn. This writer calls them ſo brutal and thieving as not to be paralleled by any people on the face of the globe. If they ſee any thing on board ſhip, which they have no opportunity of ſtealing, they will beg it; and, if it be denied them, they fly into a rage, ſwim aſhore, and put a ſtop to all trade. Smith would not venture to ſend his boat on ſhore for proviſions, but with an armed crew, and after he had caſt anchor ſo near the ſhore that his cannon could cover the men. From deſcriptions ſo different we muſt either conclude, that theſe two writers mean different nations, or that Smith met with ſome accidents which prejudiced him againſt the whole people. Villault, forgetting what he affirms a little before, or ſpeaking of a different people, accuſes them of eating the Europeans; adding, in proof of this aſſertion, that in the ſpace of a few years they had eat about fourteen Dutchmen: a fact greatly to be doubted, according to Snoeck; and, if true, applicable only to the natives to the weſtward, near Cape Palmas. Villault farther aſſerts, that they conſtantly ſeize upon all the white men who wood and water on their coaſt, without any provocation, and merely from a brutal fondneſs for human fleſh: however, ſays he, happily, no nation on the coaſt has ſuch a dread of fire arms. Smith calls them an accurſed race of cannibals. The ſame prejudices, according to him, have been unjuſtly conceived againſt ſome other nations of Guinea, for eating monkies, dogs, and alligators; but this alone deſerves the appellation of ſavage, from that diabolical luſt they have after men's fleſh: whereas Des Marchais, after enlarging upon the humanity and refinedneſs of their manners, ſubjoins, this people drink a ſort of beer, called pito, and wine drawn from the bourbon palm, with which they mix water, to prevent

prevent the effects of its intoxicating quality. Drunkenness is a crime of so odious a nature among them, that the laws have prohibited it under the severest penalties, and on pain of death. Their maxim is, that to destroy one's health, or reason, is to put man upon a level with brute creatures, to prejudice society by robbing it of its useful members, and to destroy the effects of all law and government; for a man void of reason cannot be influenced by laws, as he is ignorant of the propriety of his actions.

Their diet, according to Atkins, is coarse and indelicate; their best dishes being what is called slabber sauce, a term probably given by the English; bomini, and a kind of black soup. The first is composed of rice, fish, fowl, kid, and elephant's flesh, all of them kept till they stink; and this hachis, boiled with ocra (B) and palm oil, is deemed a royal dish. Bomini is made of fish, dried without salt in the sun, the more fœtid the better. This they fry with palm oil and rice, and greedily snatch it up with their fingers. As for the black soup, it is a favourite dish all over Guinea, both among Europeans and Negroes. The Europeans make it of flesh or fowl, with pepper, vinegar, salt, and some sweet-herbs peculiar to the country; but the Negroes add fish, ocra, and palm oil.

Those Negroes detest the custom Europeans have of embracing each other, after a long absence, or on parting: this they regard as an unnatural action, and an affront to the fair sex. Their teeth are perfectly sharp, from the continual habit of pointing them; but in general they are crooked and irregular. They look upon long nails as a great ornament; and dress their hair into tresses, which they keep separate by a paste of palm oil and a kind of red earth. So fond are they of a quantity of hair, that they borrow large locks from the women, which they add to their own, forming a kind of peruke; and their bodies they anoint every day with the same kind of paste which they apply to their hair. They are continually chewing betel, with the juice of which, mixed with their spittle, they slabber over their neck and chin, imagining, that it gives a fine varnish and beautiful lustre to the skin. Round the small of the leg they wear large rings of iron, some of

(B) Ocra is a viscous vegetable substance, well known in our West Indian Islands, where it is used to thicken soup.

them,

them, according to Barbot, weighing near ſixty pounds; a circumſtance almoſt incredible. They are charmed with the jingling ſound of thoſe rings and bells ſuſpended to them, in the multitude of which conſiſt all their grandeur and dignity. In a word, ſays the ſame author, they are a people highly diſguſting at firſt ſight, from the ferocity of their features, the manner of their dreſs, and the beaſtlineſs of ſome of their cuſtoms; to which may be added the ſtrong, rank, and fœtid effluvia from their bodies, which can never become ſupportable by habit to an European noſe.

The common people wear only a piece of cloth round the waiſt, out of decency; but the more opulent ſort are covered with a ſort of cloak, or ſurplice, with long ſleeves, which they wrap round the ſhoulders and hang down below the knee; and by their ſides they wear hangers or ſhort ſwords. As to the women, thay cut off their hair, in order that the men may have a ſuperfluous quantity. About Little Drewin the females have the curioſity to come down with their children to the ſhore, when the Europeans are watering, whom they ſeem to behold with great ſatisfaction. Villault ſays, that ſetting aſide their complexion, which is jet-black, they would paſs for beauties in Europe, ſo regular are their features, and ſo brilliant their eyes. He had ſeen above fifty, out of which number there was not one but was tall, ſlender, genteel, and handſome in the face; in a word, a fine woman; notwithſtanding the men are for the moſt part groſs and fat, though well made. Some of the women who wear their hair, adorn it with little plates of pure gold; in making of which there is the greateſt emulation among the workmen and goldſmiths. Theſe pieces are ſometimes large, but in general thin, ſmall, and of little value; however, ſome women wear ſuch a number of trinkets, that the whole amounts to a conſiderable ſum. A young and beautiful girl ſoon gets a huſband, who by contract has no power over her jewels, though in other reſpects his authority is abſolute and deſpotic. Even in this particular he falls upon means to gain a ſuperiority, by denying her money to purchaſe other neceſſaries, till ſhe pledges her ornaments with him; and no ſooner is he in poſſeſſion, than he diſpoſes of them to the Europeans. The only dreſs of the women is a cloth, without any particular form, that falls over the fore part of their bodies, the hinder parts being left entirely naked: and indeed there is hardly a people in the whole coaſt of Guinea ſo primi-

tive

tive and simple in this particular, as the natives of the Ivory Coast, and particularly of Quaqua.

Their form of salutation they have in common with all Negroes; that of laying hold of the fingers, making them crack, and repeating the word quaqua several times, in a low voice. Here it is a constant rule, that the son follows the profession of his father; the son of a weaver is bred a weaver; that of a smith, a smith; and the same in all other occupations. This regulation is so firmly established, that the whole country, perhaps, does not furnish a single instance to the contrary: a custom that is attended with many inconveniencies, though upon the whole founded on reason; and the supposition that a son has better opportunities of becoming acquainted with his trade under a father than with any other master. Yet, after all, they are exceedingly aukward in the mechanic arts; and Atkins says, that a common door-lock is so great a curiosity as to draw a whole country together to see it; a watch still increases their admiration; and making paper speak, as they express it, is a perfect miracle. If they are sent with a note, and told the contents before, they frequently make the experiment whether the Europeans are deceiving them, in pretending they can interpret the thoughts of an absent person by those crooked characters: this they do by asking the contents when they have read the paper, in a jeering manner, as if they had caught them in a lie; but their surprize is inconceivable, when they are told literally the whole business the note contains; this being an act of which they can form no conception, and that gives them a very advantageous idea of the white men, believing they must necessarily have some familiar demon, that acts as factor or broker on this occasion.

Religion. The grounds of their religion are much the same with what we have related of the tenets that prevail on the Gold Coast, it being founded wholly upon superstition and ignorance. If they revere their princes and priests, their respect arises less from their esteem of the order than of the opinion they entertain of the dignity annexed. They are fully persuaded, that magic and sorcery are qualities and powers inseparable from majesty and priesthood. The king of Saka, a country near Cape Laho, passes, in particular, for the greatest magician in the universe. He observes annually a certain mysterious ceremony in honour of the sea, which is the tutelary deity of the kingdom. It begins in December, and continues till

April following; during which time he sends, by intervals, some of his courtiers in a canoe to Axim, Sama, Commendo, and some other towns on the Gold Coast, to sacrifice to the ocean a quantity of old rags, different kinds of stones, and horns filled with powder, with which they blow up the rest of the offering. A priest attends the nobleman, and is in a particular manner entrusted with the care of the ritual ceremony, which he executes by pronouncing certain words, in a low voice, to obtain of the sea a calm and serene summer season, which of consequence will be favourable to commerce and navigation. As soon as the first canoe is returned, he dispatches another, which, going through the same ceremonies, is succeeded by a third, and in this manner alternately for the space of four or five months. When the first canoe leaves Korbi Laho, she is instantly followed by the Negro factors of that port, who in canoes carry their stuffs and goods to be sold in the very place where the king has made his offering. On their return other merchants and factors follow the second canoe; and thus they go on sacrificing and trading for the season. Wonderful regularity is observed throughout this religious ceremony; and all the merchants find means to dispose of their stocks. Towards the month of April the sorcerer priest leaves the sea at full liberty to storm, foam, and swell, as it thinks proper; and the merchants, fearing lest the ocean, fatigued with long restraint, may embrace this liberty, make all the haste they can to their several ports.

Whatever judgment authors may think fit to pass on the natives of Quaqua, in point of religion and manners, certain it is, that their extreme regard to trade, and the assiduity with which they cultivate it, are no bad proofs of their understanding and sensible political notions. When they first discover a ship on the coast, they diligently attend to the actions of the crew; and as soon as they believe their security confirmed by their apparent manners, they crowd on board with all the produce of their country, gold, ivory, provisions, and slaves; although they generally oblige the captain to pass through the ceremony of putting sea water in his eye; firmly persuading themselves, that if he violates this solemn engagement, the sea will punish him with the loss of that organ. On their side, they enter upon no promises, and, for this reason, European seamen are generally on their guard, to prevent sudden attacks or frauds, admitting only a certain number of Negroes upon deck at a time. This is Villault's assertion; but

but Barbot obſerves, that they voluntarily perform the ſame ceremonies they require of the European captain, dipping their hands in the water, and letting it drop in their eye: meaning thereby, that they wiſh the loſs of the eye, if they be guilty of a breach of faith. Atkins relates this obligation with circumſtances ſomewhat different. According to him, the captain preſents himſelf to the chief perſon in the canoe, who immediately puts one leg on the ſide of the ſhip, while the other remains on the gun-wale of the canoe. In this poſture he takes up as much water as he can hold in the palm of his hand, and throws it in the captain's face, by which he gives the ſtrongeſt proof poſſible of his friendſhip and fidelity; and ſo attached are they to this ſuperſtition, that without it be duly performed, they will never enter a ſhip. It is pretended, that before the natives of the bad country, as it is called, weſt of Great Drewin, neglected this cuſtom, no people on earth adhered more religiouſly to their engagements: now they are the moſt treacherous, baſe, and perfidious of mankind, owing entirely to the diſrepute into which this ceremony is fallen. It now ſubſiſts only at cape Laho, the river St. Andrew, and cape Apollonia. In other provinces the Negroes content themſelves with curiouſly examining the ſhip, her ſtrength, and the number and countenances of the crew: ſometimes they ſpit a mouthful of ſea water into the captain's face, which polite compliment they expect he ſhould return, if his ſincerity be unqueſtionable: but, according to the French writers, if the natives can diſtinguiſh the language ſpoken on board to be French, then they wave all other trial, and flock on board without heſitation.

The European factors divert themſelves with ſeeing canoes filled with men crowd round them, every mouth uttering the ſame ſound, quaqua, quaqua. As ſoon as any of them are hoiſted on board, the anxiety of the reſt is lively to an extreme; they move their heads and eyes backward and forward with the utmoſt impatience, as if waiting the fate of their companions; and it is with the utmoſt difficulty they are all prevailed on to come on board. The beſt method to overcome their fears is the ceremony we have mentioned; but Barbot ſays, that he has ſometimes unſucceſsfully tried this. It is probable, that ſome outrages committed by the European ſhipping has ever ſince inſpired theſe timid creatures with that dread and ſuſpicion of injuries, particularly from the Engliſh, ſays Des Marchais: and indeed this reflection is in ſome mea-

ſure confirmed by Smith, who relates, that, ſtopping at ſeveral towns and ports on this coaſt, and firing cannon as a ſignal of his arrival, he never could diſcern a ſingle canoe coming towards him, or the ſmalleſt appearance that the natives propoſed trading with him. "It is certain, ſays he, that they never approach an Engliſh veſſel, without dread of being carried away into ſlavery:" whence it is probable, that ſome attempt of this nature has been made. He acknowledges, that they repoſe the greateſt confidence in the French of any European nation: they even allow them to erect a ſtandard on ſhore; uſe the French language in bargains; and not only trade with them at an eaſier rate, but alſo furniſh them plentifully with freſh water and all manner of proviſions: an acknowlegement that does great honour to the civilized manners and prudence of that nation, however ſmall the advantage is which they draw from the preference given them.

The timidity of the Quaquans.

The Negroes of the Quaqua Coaſt come generally five or ſix in a canoe along the ſhip's ſide; but it is ſeldom that above one or two have reſolution to come on board, before they have ſeen in what manner their companions are treated. They moſt frequently enter the ſhips two at a time, with a couple of elephant's teeth and ſome other goods; theſe returning to the canoe, before the reſt leave is. Thoſe who come firſt narrowly inſpect the ſtate of the ſhip, whether the ſailors be armed, and the number there is upon deck. When they have ſold their goods they return, and acquaint their friends with the uſage they have received. No intreaties can prevail on them to go below deck, notwithſtanding they pretend they think themſelves perfectly ſecure, and expreſs great curioſity. So much do they dread fire-arms, that they all ſlung themſelves into the ſea upon Smith's firing a gun to bring-to a ſhip he diſcovered in the offing; and he obſerved, that if they diſcover the leaſt appearance of arms on board, they immediately ſcud away to the ſhore, with all poſſible expedition.

One may eaſily apprehend the difficulty and tedioufneſs of trading with a nation ſo timorous and jealous; whoſe language is unintelligible to Europeans, and all the European languages ſtill more ſo to them (for what the French ſay of trading in their language is atteſted by no other authority.) Every thing is tranſacted by ſigns and geſticulations, or by placing a certain quantity of merchandize near the ivory or gold that is wanted in exchange. In general, the Negroes are eagerly fond of preſents, however trifling,

trifling, as if they looked upon these as pledges of esteem and affection. A knife not worth six pence, a copper ring, a glass of usquebaugh, or a biscuit, are things which the richest Negro thinks worth his acceptance, and on which he sets the highest value. However, as their avarice seems to grow with the liberality of the Europeans, Smith recommends great caution in the manner of making those dashees, or presents. "It is a pernicious custom, says that writer, which had its rise from the policy of the Dutch, who wanted to destroy the credit of the Portuguese, and establish their own, by those instances of generosity, for which they have since suffered, by the purchase of cargoes bought at double their value. Now every trade must be begun by dashees, to be renewed not only by every ship of a nation, but every day by the same ship, and by every individual on board. Thus one stroke of Dutch policy has ever since been a perpetual tax on all other Europeans, as well as on themselves, and the presents now amount to as much as formerly would purchase a cargo." The same custom prevails on the Gold Coast; but with this difference, that there presents are made after a cargo is completed, and goes by the name of dassi-midassi: but on all the lower coasts, to the river Gambia, the Negroes must have their dashee in-advance; nor do they ever come near a ship, but that is the general cry among them.

Their arts.

The usual trade carried on here consists of cotton cloths, ivory, gold, and slaves. According to Villault, the Negroes manufacture a sort of strong stuff, striped blue and white, three quarters wide, and about four ells long. These sell well on the Gold Coast, and Europeans purchase them purely for this market. From the river Babas to the Rio de Suero da Costa the country produces great abundance of good cotton, which the Negroes of the interior countries manufacture with great industry. The cotton pieces made here are extremely fine and beautiful in the colours, especially the blue stripe, which, says Barbot, cannot be equalled even in France. The maritime Negroes act as brokers to the inland Negroes, sell their stuffs for them, and receive so much per cent. by way of commission. Some of these brokers told our author, that, besides the trade carried on with the coast, the inland Negroes drive a very considerable commerce with a white people that inhabit the very center of Africa, and come hither for cotton cloths with droves of mules or asses, with which they return loaded. They are described as ac-

coutred with ſhort ſwords or ſcymitars; whence, it is probable, they are no other than the Arabians of Zara, on the banks of the Niger. The Quaqua Negroes manufacture a kind of plant, reſembling hemp, into a ſtrong cloth, to which they give beautiful colours, and ſome pretty flowers and deſigns, that ſpeak them no bad artiſts in this way. They alſo have a conſiderable trade in ſalt with their inland neighbours, to whom they ſell it at a very extraordiuary price, on account of the diſtance and expence of carriage.

The incredible quantity of ivory found in Quaqua.

All the countries behind Quaqua furniſh large ſtore of elephant's teeth, the moſt beautiful ivory in the world. It is conſtantly bought up as ſoon as brought to the coaſt, by the Engliſh, Dutch, French, and ſometimes by the Danes and Portuguese: but, at the ſame time that the commerce of this country is free to all nations, the Engliſh and Dutch enjoy the greater part of it, and the emulation between theſe has occaſioned the Negroes to raiſe the price of their commodities, without reflecting how they diminiſh the quantity of the exports by this, and the alteration of faſhions in Europe. In ſuch quantities did this country afford ivory, that, in Barbot's days, it was no uncommon thing to ſee a hundred quintals ſold in a day; and the Negroes report, that the inlands, eſpecially the mountains, are ſo ſtocked with elephants, that the natives are forced for ſecurity to bury themſelves among rocks and caverns at night. They fall upon every poſſible contrivance to defend their plantations againſt the ravages of theſe ſagacious monſters, and frequently lay traps for them, in which they catch a great many: but, if we may credit the relations of the Negroes, and indeed the moſt probable accounts, the great plenty of ivory is owing to the elephant's caſting his teeth every third year. This is Des Marchais's account, and Barbot and Villault confirm it by ſimilar teſtimonies. They add, that, notwithſtanding the perpetual war waged againſt them by the Negroes, the elephants are ſo numerous, that the natives are forced to dig their habitations a great way under ground. However, of late years, their number has been greatly diminiſhed, by a diſtemper that crept among them, and made terrible havock, as well as by the conſtant endeavours of the Negroes to extirpate them, though the foundation of their commerce.

Of gold.

Villault, after wondering how the Negroes come by ſuch quantities of pure gold as the women wear for ornament, thinks himſelf at liberty to conclude, that the country certainly

tainly contains mines that furnish virgin native gold; for he supposes the inhabitants incapable of bringing it to that degree of fineness by fire. He says, that, upon repeatedly questioning them where they procured the precious metal, they always cast their eyes towards the mountains; and the natural inference in that case was, that they dug it themselves out of those mountains.

The European commodities, which the Negroes accept most readily in exchange for their own, are of much the same nature as in other parts of Guinea; with this difference, that here the bracelets and rings for the legs, whether of copper or iron, must be of an intolerable weight. Barbot advises, that small ships be only sent on this trade, the number of places to be called at rendering the heaving large anchors extremely tedious and troublesome; besides, the Negroes come more readily on board, when they see no great preparations, or a number of cannon mounted, and decks crowded with sailors. But then the utmost caution is necessary against treachery, and not above a certain number of Negroes to be admitted on board at a time. The sufferings of the Portuguese furnish examples of the necessity of keeping a strict watch. To conclude this short account of the Ivory Coast, we will observe, that although it be divided into a variety of petty states, and kingdoms, yet they have scarce any separate interests; for among themselves war happens seldom, and, of consequence, the slave trade here bears but a small proportion to that traffick on the Gold and Slave Coasts.

Diseases of the natives.

Authors have observed, that the exomphalus hernia umbilicalis, or preternatural tumor of the abdomen at the navel from a rupture, is a disorder extremely common on the Ivory Coast; but how to account for its frequency we are at a loss. All other deformities of the body are as rare as this is common; and out of an infinity of Negroes which Barbot had conversed with, he never saw but two who had any reason to complain that nature was unkind; one of whom squinted, and the other was born without a nose. These are all the particulars we have been able to collect out of authors concerning the Ivory Coast. If the reader should find them less full and entertaining than he might expect, he will attribute it to the little acquaintance which Europeans have with these Negroes, with whom they only converse on board ships; seldom or ever going on shore, but to wood and water, and never

venturing upon any kind of land tour [n]. They have, from two or three accidents, conceived such prejudices against the natives, that, till these are removed, we can never expect any distinct relation of the produce of the country, civil or political laws, manners, religion, or customs of the people.

CHAP. LV.

Containing the Geography of the Grain or Malaugetta Coast; a Description of its Towns, Climate, natural Produce, and Trade; of the Manners of the Natives, their Language, Religion, and Government; together with a Description of the Country round the River Sestos, of its Inhabitants, &c.

Of the name and geography of the Grain Coast.

AUTHORS are greatly divided both about the name and the limits of this coast. Lemery and Prevost are of opinion, that the French term for Guinea pepper is derived from Melega, a town of Africa: but how or in what manner this commodity was imported into France they do not inform us; so that no inference can be fairly drawn from their assertion, admitting it to be true [a]. Villault, Barbot, Smith, and Des Marchais, think, with more reason, that the Europeans gave this coast its appellation from observing that it produced this species of pepper in greater abundance than any other part of Guinea; and we think it no weak proof of their conjecture, that the names of all the other coasts were imposed from the chief commodities they afford: the Slave Coast, for instance, is so called from its furnishing a greater number of slaves than any other country; the Gold Coast, from the abundance of that metal found upon it; and the Ivory Coast, from the prodigious cargoes of elephant's teeth bought up every year by the Europeans. It is true, that all these divisions produce much the same commodities; but as some particular species of merchandize was the

[n] Vide auct. citat. in locis citatis.

[a] Prevost, tom. v. liv. ix. chap. 2.

staple

ſtaple or prevailing traffick of the country, ſo from thence it took its name, and is characteriſed. But, waving all ſuch uſeleſs and dry diſquiſitions, we proceed to lay down its extent and geography.

Strictly ſpeaking, the Grain Coaſt is contained between the Rio Seſtos and Greva, a village two or three miles weſt of Cape Palmas, extending for a ſpace of fifty-five miles along the ſhore. Villault ſays, that it begins at the river Sanguin, and ſtretches to Cape Palmas, which enlarges its limits to about ſixty miles. Within thoſe frontiers are the towns and villages of Seſtos or Seſtro, weſt of the river Sanguin, Bottowa or Battaway, Seno, Seſtro Krou or Kro, Wappo, Bado, Great Seſtro, Little Seſtro, Goyava, Garraway, and Grova, which laſt belongs properly to the Ivory Coaſt, with a number of intermediate towns and villages, whoſe names are not mentioned by voyagers [b]. As we do not find all theſe places deſcribed by any authors, the reader muſt reſt ſatisfied with the imperfect accounts they afford. Little Seſtos ſtands about four leagues eaſt of the river of that name, a ſpace that is occupied by a ridge of rocky mountains, or rather one long extended height. The Negroes of this place fiſh and trade, free of all cuſtoms to their princes and governors, which is all that is known of their hiſtory. About three leagues farther eaſt is the village Sanguin, at the mouth of a river of that name, that diſcharges itſelf in the ſea ſouth-ſouth-eaſt; capable of being navigated for twelve miles up by ſmall veſſels, notwithſtanding the channel is narrow, and bordered by lofty trees, that caſt a ſhade all over the water. This town contains about a hundred houſes; and formerly the Engliſh had a ſettlement here, which the bad diſpoſition of the natives forced them to relinquiſh. The king of this diſtrict is ſubject to the ſovereign of Seſtos. He is uſually dreſſed in a blue robe, after the Mooriſh faſhion, and takes great pleaſure in viſiting the European ſhipping in the road. Formerly the Portugueſe and Dutch drove a great trade here; but the prodigious offers of white merchants at length ſo raiſed the price of pepper and ivory, that the market ſunk, and is now in a very declining condition. Upon emergencies this is a convenient port to wood and water at, and alſo to take in proviſions, which are rather abundant than good of the kind. About a mile eaſtward ſtands Baffa,

Little Seſtos.

Sanguin.

[b] Barbot, p. 122. Ogilby, p. 380. Des March. tom. i. p. 43. Villault, p. 72.

or

Baffa. or Bofo, a neat village, where abundance of ivory is kept in readinefs for the firft fhipping that call; nor is it deficient in pepper. It is eafily diftinguifhed by a long fandy point, furrounded with rocks, that project into the fea. The language they fpeak is a corrupted Portuguefe, or rather a mixed language, or kind of Lingua Franca. Next ftands Setuna, two miles from Baffa to the eaftward, *Battaway.* a village that trades largely in pepper and ivory. A mile farther Battaway prefents itfelf, and is eafily known at fea, by two large rocks, that ftand two miles from fhore to the weftward, and alfo by fome high mountains behind the town. This is one of the beft built places on the coaft; populous and rich; but the natives are much addicted to thieving. It trades extenfively in the above commodities; *Sino.* but it is greatly exceeded by Sino, a town four miles to the eaft. This latter place is richly ftocked with pepper, which the Negroes greedily exchange for plates of copper, bars of iron, perpetuanas, and fome other European commodities. They readily come on board any fhipping they difcover in the road; but, like their neighbours at Battaway, are fuch expert thieves that they muft be very carefully looked after. *Seftro Krou.* Six miles eaft from Sino ftands Seftro Krou, a pleafant large town, plainly diftinguifhed at fea by a high cape, formed by three black hills, the weft *Wappo.* fides of which are covered with wood. Wappo, fituated upon a fmall river, ftands five miles from Seftro Krou. Here as well as at Seftro Krou the elephants teeth are large and white, and pepper is in the greateft plenty and perfection. Between Wappo and Great Seftro ftand two large villages, called Drova Dru and Niffo; each producing fuch quantities of pepper, that, for a bar of iron, Barbot purchafed three hundred pounds weight. The natives of thefe villages, and all the country round Wappo, are more civilized, gentle, and tractable in their difpofition than any others on this coaft; but extremely covetous of dafhees, or prefents, before they enter upon the moft trifling bargains. Their language is almoft unintelligible to their neareft neighbours; but feems more articulate and foft than moft of the others. From Wappo to Seftro Paris, or Great Seftro, on the river Efcravos, the coaft runs ftrait fouth and fouth-eaft. This large, handfome, and populous town, ftands clofe upon the river, which is about a quarter of a mile broad at the town; but narrower at the entrance, where it is divided by two iflands, fome fay one, which renders the navigation troublefome, and only practicable to fmall veffels.

The

The town received the name of Seſtro Paris from the Dieppers, who had a factory here; becauſe it was the largeſt and beſt inhabited town within the frontiers of the Grain Coaſt. The houſes are built after a different model from thoſe of the other towns; for here they raiſe them, either ſquare or round, four feet from the ground, aſcending by a flight of ſteps to the door. At this height ſtands the firſt ſtory, which is reſerved as a chief apartment to eat, drink, or ſleep in. It is lined with mats, made of the bark of trees, and in the middle is a chimney, where, in cold weather, they burn charcoal, and dreſs the victuals of the family; beſides which it ſerves the farther purpoſe of drying their rice and Indian corn fit to grind. The ſecond ſtory, that runs up in a pyramidical form, is uſed as a ſtore or lumber-room, and is generally thirty feet high; theſe give the town a very beautiful appearance, hundreds of ſpires riſing within ſo ſmall a diſtance of each other. Such are the conveniencies of private families: beſides which, the town has a palaaver-room, or council-chamber, where the chief men ſit to deliberate on public affairs. This is a large apartment, raiſed high from the ground, and in the middle a kind of ſtage or orcheſtra erected, where thoſe ſages debate the affairs of ſociety. Here the king and meaneſt ſlave drink and ſmoke without diſtinction of perſons, as ſoon as buſineſs is ended; for with that the ſovereign lays aſide all the badges of majeſty, and reduces himſelf to a private ſtation. Here likewiſe it is uſual to aſſort and value merchandize; and this, indeed, conſtitutes the chief part of the national buſineſs.

Of the buildings.

The laſt place we meet with on the Grain Coaſt is Grova; though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, it belongs to the Ivory Coaſt, if we reckon the eaſtern frontier of the Grain Coaſt from Cape Palmas, ſo called from the great number of thoſe trees with which it is covered.

To give the reader the beſt idea of this diviſion which our ſcanty materials will admit of, we ſhall obſerve, that the continual exhalations raiſed by the action of the ſun from the rivers and ſea-coaſt, are ſuppoſed to occaſion malignant putrid fevers, almoſt always fatal to Europeans. This noxious diſpoſition of the air prevails in a very high degree at Cape Palmas, and is ſenſibly felt at the diſtance of ſeveral miles from ſhore; an intolerable ſtink blowing off the land in the evening, when the north-eaſt winds ſet in.

Of the climate.

The

Of the natural produce.

The productions of the earth are peafe, beans, gourds, lemons, oranges, bananas, and a kind of nut with an exceeding thick fhell, a moft delicious fruit, for which neither the natives or Europeans have a name. The palm wine and dates of this country are in the greateft perfection. Cows, hogs, fheep, and goats, are alfo in great plenty: but what conftitutes the chief wealth of the Grain Coaft, is the abundance of Guinea pepper it produces; which draws a great trade, not only with all the neighbouring interior nations, but with the Europeans alfo. According to Barbot, it is called by the Negroes of Seftos by the name of waizinzag, and by thofe of Cape Palmas, emanegheta. The plant on which this elegant production grows, differs in fize, according to the nature of the foil and other circumftances: in general it fhoots out to the height of a fhrub, attaching itfelf, like ivy, to fome neighbouring tree. What grows upon the plant thus fupported is of a finer flavour, more pungent and hot in the tafte, than what grows wild in the fields, and fpreads to a great extent. The leaf is twice as long as broad, pointed, foft, and of a delicate fmell in the rainy feafon, foon after which it fades and lofes all its beauty and flavour. Bruifed between the fingers, the leaf and buds have an agreeable aromatic flavour, like that of a clove. Under the leaves, and indeed along the ftalk, are fmall filaments, by which it joins itfelf to the neareft tree; but its flower cannot be defcribed, as it buds in thofe feafons when no commerce is carried on with the coaft: however, it is certain that it does flower, the fruit fucceeding in the form of angular figs, of various fizes, according to the quality of air and foil. It is covered by a rind, which the Negroes believe to be poifonous, and is no other than a thin film, that foon dries and crumbles. Such is the defcription of this fruit given by Des Marchais, which differs in nothing material from what is related by Barbot. At Rio Seftos the fruit is large, and the plant fo tall, fpreading, and thick, that at the firft view it refembles a wood.

Of the trade.

Bofman affirms, that, befides the Guinea pepper, this country produces another fpecies of fruit, extremely like cardamoms both in tafte and figure, and, in effect, the fame in quality: adding, that in the interior countries there is found a fpecies of pepper differing in nothing from that of the fpice iflands and Moluccas. This is the pimento, of which we have already fpoken: fufficient it is that we add fome particulars regarding its abundance and cheapnefs

cheapness here. The Dutch purchase it in great quantities; probably to prevent its interfering with their East India trade, in consequence of an agreement between the East and West India companies: they freight whole ships with it; and we have been credibly informed, that a fleet of five or six sail have left the coast, with little or no other merchandize on board. At present, however, this trade is greatly on the decline, their Molucca spices being so well established, as to their credit, that such artifices are thought unnecessary. Their example has been followed by other nations; though we are told the English still preserve some part of their former spice trade. Now the chief commerce of the Grain Coast consists in ivory and slaves. Marmol relates, that before the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Africa, the merchants of Barbary used to traverse the continent, and trade largely with the Grain Coast, in Guinea pepper; exporting it again to Italy, and all the southern parts of Europe [c].

Of the manners of the natives.

The natives of this division are guilty of no excesses in eating or drinking, or indeed of intemperance in any kind of luxury. They admit the Europeans into all familiarities with their women; and even invite them to love-banquets with their own wives and daughters; nay some of them prostitute their wives to their own children; and when reproached by the Europeans for such a trespass upon decency, and the law of nature, they smile and call it a trifle. One quality they have in common with all Negroes, which is a propensity to steal whatever they come near, especially from strangers and foreigners, though they never omit the opportunity whoever the person be. Sons will steal from their fathers, and they again purloin from their children; even the things they may have for asking, or commanding, they chuse to possess themselves of by dint of genius and address. If they are received on board of a ship, nothing comes amiss; they steal the heads of old rusty nails rather than go away empty handed; yet are they clamorous for presents or dashees.

Of the language.

The language of this people is so difficult and peculiar in the idiom, that it is not only utterly unintelligible to Europeans, but to the nearest neighbouring nations, none of whom are able to act as interpreters. All trade is carried on by signs and tokens, not the most decent; the Europeans are forced to make love to the Negro women by tokens, which, with the assistance of a lively imagination,

c Marmol, tom. i. liv. i. chap. 5.

they

they ſoon make ſhift to comprehend. In general they are well ſhaped, and handſome in their perſons and features. The common dreſs is a paan, or unſhaped piece of cloth round the waiſt. They are extremely ſubject to ſcrotal hernias and ruptures, but for what reaſon cannot ſo eaſily be determined, without a more thorough acquaintance with their manners; and Barbot has ſeen them of ſo extraordinary a kind, that the ſcrotum hung down as low as the knees. When any of them chances to travel out of his own little diſtrict, and is met by a ſtranger, they mutually embrace, preſſing each other's ſhoulders cloſely, and pronouncing the word towa. Then they begin and rub each other's arms up to the elbow, ſtill repeating towa; after which they apply to each other's fingers, which they crack, and finiſh their extraordinary ſalutation, with crying out enſanemate, enſanemate! that is, *my dear friend, how do you?*

They have ſome excellent mechanics among them; perticularly ſmiths, who perfectly underſtand the art of tempering ſteel and other metals, and making arms, and all ſteel inſtruments, to the higheſt proof; nor are they deficient in ſhipwrights, who build their canoes of different ſizes, upon certain regular principles. Experience has taught them many uſeful improvements in huſbandry, particularly in reſpect to the means of cultivating rice, millet, and Guinea pepper; their chief inſtruments of their ſubſiſtence and trade. Their taba, taba ſeyle, or as all others call him, tabo ſeil, or king, exerts an arbitrary power and deſpotic authority over his ſubjects, and never appears abroad but with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. His people raiſe his power by certain implicit ſentiments of a natural ſubmiſſion, and that awe with which they would regard a ſuperior being. Their ignorance attaches them to paganiſm; but natural reaſon dictates a future ſtate, as appears by the ceremonies performed to the ſouls of the deceaſed, which they pray they may meet happy in another world. They welcome the new moon with ſongs, dancing, and diverſions of every kind; and their ſuperſtitious regard for ſorcerers is extreme.

Their government.

As the country round the river Seſtos has been more accurately examined by Europeans than the Grain Coaſt, we ſhall extract whatever we can find in authors deſerving notice. Philips ſeems to have taken great pains in ſounding the depths of all the different bays, creeks, and branches, towards the mouth of the river, and as far up as ſhipping of any burthen can enter; concluding with

Country lying round the river Seſtos.

Des

Des Marchais, that the anchorage is every where good and ſecure, but that the ſea is rough, and the currents ſtrong towards the ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt of the channel. It is beſides blocked up by blind rocks, covered with ſix feet of water, and two that raiſe their tops in ſight, which is the principal reaſon why this navigation is dangerous to ſhipping, but ſafe enough to ſmall craft and light veſſels. The true channel is between that rock, ſtanding in the middle of the largeſt eaſtern branch; here the breadth is half a cable over, and the depth thirty-ſeven fathoms, beyond which the river is broad and beautiful, where ſhips of a hundred tons may anchor ſecurely; within a cannon ſhot are ſome ſprings of excellent freſh water, from which the women of the country ſupply ſhips with any quantity, while their huſbands are hewing down wood for the ſame purpoſe. The river has its ſource high up the country; but whence is not aſcertained; however, ſome voyagers affirm, that barks and ſmall craft can penetrate above twenty-five miles; after which it is filled with rocks and flats, which render it impaſſable, only by canoes. All its banks are adorned with fine trees, richly planted with villages, and refreſhed with cooling ſtreams of freſh water, that tumble down from the higher grounds and fall into the river. All the country on both ſides is fertile, wild fowl are abundant, and rice and millet the common ſuſtenance of the inhabitants: theſe, together with ivory and Guinea pepper, form the ſtaple commodities of trade. But with all the wealth of this beautiful country, the climate is extremely unhealthy to ſtrangers, and uſually ſubjects them to dangerous and long diſeaſes, many of their acute fevers terminating in ſome chronical diſtemper. Here is found a beautiful kind of flint or pebble, more tranſparent than agate, hard as a diamond, and almoſt equal in luſtre when well cut. At the diſtance of a hundred paces from the mouth of the river, ſtands a Negro town, conſiſting of above a hundred houſes, neat, well built, and commodious; which may be ſeen at ſea three miles from land. Des Marchais deſcribes two other towns, a little above, of almoſt equal dimenſions, ſeparated by a pond of fine clear freſh water. The firſt of theſe ſtands on a peninſula, that helps to form the bay towards the entrance of the river, and is the principal ſeat of commerce.

Barbot, who viſited the king of this country, in the year 1687, deſcribes the ſeat where the monarch reſided, as a little town of thirty or forty houſes, on the banks of a

pleaſant

pleasant rivulet, built with mud, and surrounded by an earthen rampart. Every house is at least one story above the ground floor, some three, and all of them whitened with a lime made from calcined shells. Their floors are made with rough beams, or branches of palm, laid close to each other, which renders it difficult to walk across the chamber without stumbling; and the roof composed of the same materials, covered over with banana and palm leaves. In the council chamber, Barbot, was surprised to see cut out in basso-relievo the figure of a woman, holding an infant in her arms, about three feet in length. On each side of the block of wood were cut out little platters to hold meat and drink for the fetiche; for such it appeared to be. In this chamber, and before this idol, it was that the Negroes performed all oaths, binding them to the execution of any contract or promise.

This prince's name was Basaw, or Peter; he was a man of an agreeable aspect, soft disposition, but of a weak judgment, bordering upon folly: of this I had sufficient experience, says our author, during my residence, as he never parted an hour from me during my stay here. He adds, that the town has hardly any other inhabitants besides the women, children, court, and slaves of the king. He had thirty women, wives and concubines, but the author had only seen six, one of which was beautiful to an extreme, though advanced in years. Her arms, legs, and other parts of the body, were marked with the figures of birds and beasts, seared on the skin with a hot iron, and at a little distance appearing to be in basso-relievo; an ornament that is reckoned strikingly beautiful in this country. The king and all his children wear a cap made of the twigs of osier, the only badge which distinguishes them from their subjects; for in other respects the children labour in the same vocations and employments as the meanest Negro. When Barbot at any time made a trip of pleasure on the water, he was always attended by some of those young princes, who performed the office of watermen, and rowed the canoe. Both Barbot and Des Marchais remark, that although his power was absolute, capital punishments were rare, as the king found it more his interest to sell the criminals as slaves; and indeed this was partly owing to the clemency of his nature, and the good disposition of his subjects, who were seldom guilty of crimes of so heinous a nature, but constantly employed in the domestic cares of their families, or in trade and fishing.

It

It is the obſervation of the laſt mentioned writer, that the Negroes of Seſtos, are the moſt obliging and civil that he had ever met with; a glaſs of brandy being a ſufficient inducement or reward for the moſt important ſervices; but whether we are to aſcribe their civility to their love of brandy, or their natural diſpoſition, is what can only be determined by trying what good offices they will do for a ſtranger, without any reward or expectations. They are rather of a tall ſtature, well made, robuſt, and of a martial air; their courage correſponding with their aſpect, as appears by their frequent incurſions into neighbouring inland countries, in queſt of ſlaves. Very few merchants, or rather factors, reſide here, for the perpetual ſtate of hoſtility in which they live with their neighbours breaks off all commercial intercourſe, and renders gold but little known in Seſtos. *Of the manners of the natives.*

The ſole employment of many of the Negroes of this country is fiſhing, and every morning preſents large fleets of canoes ranged along the ſhore, upon this buſineſs. Their common method of fiſhing is by a hand-line and hook, which they ſeldom draw empty out of the water.

While Snoeck ſtaid in the country, he heard no mention nor ſaw any appearances of war, except with a neighbouring nation that had entered the country and burnt ſome villages. This occaſion was, however, ſufficient to confirm the relations of former authors concerning their warlike diſpoſition; for they attacked and drove the enemy, though ſuperior in number, before them, ſlew a great many, and made a multitude of priſoners; which they ſold to Snoeck and other European merchants.

Des Marchais relates, that the natives of Seſtos never wear any covering on their head, or hardly on any part of their bodies, in the moſt ſcorching ſeaſons of the year, and heavieſt rains. In this particular, they ſurpaſs all the nations of Guinea; neither men nor women wearing any more than a ſmall rag before to cover their nakedneſs. Nor is their diet leſs ſimple than their dreſs, their chief nouriſhment being from vegetables, notwithſtanding they breed great quantities of cattle and fowls, in order to ſupply the ſhipping that touch on the coaſt. He adds, that from the French they borrowed the cuſtom of taking Chriſtian appellatives, ſuch as John, Thomas, Paul, James, &c. though it is reſtrained to their captains and leaders, being given to them as a diſtinguiſhing name. If an European has engaged their affections either by his virtues or vices, they requeſt leave to beſtow his name on

their children, and granting their petition is esteemed the highest favour; and for a century together those names have been found hereditary in their families, descending regularly from father to son. Their method of saluting differs but little from that which, we have mentioned, is practised among the surrounding nations, and other people of the Grain Coast. They have but few ceremonies previous to marriage; indeed, the only material one is a sum paid to the parents, after which the lover may carry off his mistress when he pleases: he drinks a few bottles of spirits with the relations, and then conducts the bride to his hut, where she is received by other women, who prepare every thing for celebrating a wedding. The night she passes with her husband; after which all distinction ceases, and she goes to labour with the rest of the women, receiving the honour of her husband's embraces in her turn, or at his pleasure. Such wives as bring their husbands the first child, and confer upon them the honourable title of father, have peculiar privileges ever after; they are the favourites of their spouses, and the chief persons in the family, which is entirely directed by them; yet in the end this felicity costs them dear, for they are buried alive with them, if they happen to die first. On the captain or chief of a village, dying either a natural death, or of the consequences of a debauch in drinking strong spirits, immediately his wives set up loud lamentations, that warn the whole neighbourhood of the event; upon which all the other women in the place flock to the house to mingle their howlings with those furies. The favourite distinguishes herself by the violence of her plaints, which are perhaps the only sincere expressions among the whole, as she alone has cause. The parents of the deceased come and condole with the widow, and bid her the last farewel; the marbuts examine the body, and declare it fully and naturally dead; then after washing, they anoint it with a kind of grease; in which condition it is placed on a mat in the middle of the house. All the women take their seats round the corpse, and the favourite places herself with a good grace at the head, as the post of honour; the stranger females making another circle round the former. They endeavour to rival each other in the violence of their cries, and the fury with which they tear their hair. All of a sudden, a pause of silence interrupts this dismal noise, and the virtues and the noble actions of the deceased are recited by one of them, by way of interlude; after which they resume their

Of marriages.

Of funeral obsequies.

their cries with redoubled vehemence. After this infernal music has continued for the space of two hours, a couple of stout Negroes, without speaking a word, enter the chamber, and laying the body upon a litter composed of the branches of trees, carry it away on their shoulders, running through the town, and counterfeiting despair and drunkenness, with gestures truly ridiculous. This absurd circuit being performed in the space of an hour, the body is taken down from the litter, and laid upon the ground where it is to be deposited, when the cries of the women again begin.

While this howling employs the company present, the marbut is busied in digging a grave large enough for the two bodies. He kills a goat, sprinkles the grave with the blood, and makes an elegant repast of the entrails, part of which he gives to the favourite widow, now to become a sacrifice to the manes of her husband. At length, when the marbut thinks it time to close the ceremony, he takes her by both arms, and delivers her to two Negroes, who lay hold of her in a rude disrespectful manner, and tie her hands behind. In this situation they throw her on her back, lay a plank along her breast, upon which they mount one behind another, and crush her almost to death; then they throw her half alive into the same grave with her husband, and immediately fill it up with earth and stones, all the spectators standing rather in a stupid admiration at the spectacle, than filled with that horror which might naturally be supposed to take place in the human breast. During the whole of this barbarous transaction, a profound silence reigns through the whole assembly; and as soon as it is concluded, every one departs with the same tranquility as if nothing extraordinary had happened.

Travellers inform us, that though there are ingenious workmen in iron and metals in every part of the Grain Coast, yet that at Sestos they are peculiarly expert, having first learnt the art from the French, and since greatly improved it; insomuch that in tempering steel they greatly exceed any European nation. *Artist.*

The Portuguese were the first who dispossessed the French of their trade here, as well as in other parts of Guinea, if they really ever had the trade which their historians assert. For a number of years they exercised a despotic authority over the poor natives; but the great advantages they derived from this commerce, having excited the emulation of the English and Dutch in 1664,

Portuguese mulattoes.

their power began to give way to the more warlike and commercial spirit of these rivals. They lost gradually all their settlements, and being forced to retire into the interior countries, resolved, as the last effort, to unite themselves with the natives by marriage; whence sprung that mixed progeny of Mulattoes, more numerous here than in any part of Guinea. From policy, and perhaps from natural national affection, the Portuguese entrust them with the care of the small remnant of trade they now have, give them the appellation of hidalgos or gentlemen, reconcile them to the church of Christ, nay even admit them into holy orders, and render them useful in propagating Christianity and the gospel.

These African Portuguese have established an extensive power in many parts of Africa; their complexion and alliances gaining them every where the liberty of commerce. They have penetrated into the interior countries, north of the kingdoms of Gago, Benin, Madingo, and the remotest parts of Ethiopia, Superior and Inferior. Those settled on the banks of the rivers Sierra Leona, Sestos, and Sanguin, carry on a trade with the rivers Gambia, Kasamansa, Rio St. Domingo, and Rio Grande. It is certain, that the many advantages those Mulattoes enjoy, and especially the credit they have with the Negroes, would put them in a condition of driving perhaps the richest commerce in the world, if they were regularly supplied with European commodities and merchandize.

The ships employed in the slave-trade touch at Sestos to take in rice, which they buy at the rate of two shillings per quintal in exchange. The European merchants send to the council room of Palaaver their merchandize, such as copper vessels, lead, and powder, which they exchange for goats, fowls, and other provisions. Half an ounce of powder will more than purchase a fine fowl, nay often a goat, and other things are bought at an equally reasonable price[c].

This is all we know of their manners; and how travellers come to know so much, we are at a loss to conjecture; as they all profess themselves ignorant of the language, and little conversant with the people: but we have ventured to relate these particulars on the faith of writers, in some degree of repute for integrity and intelligence. To conclude our account of this coast, of which we know

[c] Vide Barbot, Villault, Snoeck, Ogilby, Atkins, Dapper, &c. as quoted,

so

ſo little, we ſhall obſerve, that the months moſt favourable to trade, are February, March, and April; that ſmall veſſels are more convenient than large ſhips, on account of entering the rivers and ſailing up the country; and laſtly, that the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt winds begin to blow in the month of May, bringing conſtantly along with them heavy rains and tornadoes, extremely dangerous to ſhipping, with thunder and lightning that is terrible.

CHAP. LVI.

The Hiſtory of Sierra Leona, containing a geographical Deſcription of the Country of Sierra Leona; the Rivers Scherbro and Sierra Leona, with the Trade carried on by Means of them; the Government, Religion, Dreſs, Language, and Cuſtoms of the Natives; with a ſhort Account of the Kingdom of Bolm; and ſeveral other Particulars.

Geographical deſcription of Sierra Leona.

THE next country we come to is Sierra Leona, a name given to ſome of the mountains on this coaſt by the Portugueſe, on account of the great number of lions bred there. Others derive this name from the terrible noiſe made by the beating of the ſea againſt the ſhore, which they have compared to the roaring of a lion, with what propriety we cannot ſay. The Moors call this diviſion Bulombel, ſignifying *great country*; and indeed, in its largeſt extent, it ſeems to merit the appellation. Geographers, however, are not at all unanimous about its preciſe boundaries, though the moſt diſtinct limits, as laid down by Roberts, in his Atlas Geographique, are from the Grain Coaſt on the ſouth-eaſt, to Cape Verga, or as Labat calls it, Cape Vega, on the north-weſt; comprehending within theſe frontiers an infinity of different kingdoms and ſtates, of which we know not ſo much as the names. Labat again extends the Grain Coaſt to the river Scherbro, which he calls the ſouth-eaſt frontiers of Sierra Leona, and Cape Verga the north-eaſt. Other

writers ſtill reduce theſe limits; and confine the country ſtrictly called Sierra Leona, between the Capes Ledo, or Tagrim, and Verga, theſe two promontories forming that ſpacious bay into which the river Scherbro diſcharges itſelf. Towards the inland, its limits are uncertain; though Barbot has ventured to affirm, that the lake Combuegudi and the great kingdom of Madingo, form the northern frontiers, by this means comprehending under the diviſion of Sierra Leona, a tract of country altogether prodigious [a].

River Scherbro. The great river Scherbro, which by ſome writers is called Madre Bomba, by others Rio Selboba, and by others Rio das Palmas, ſeparates the country called Seſtos from that region ſtrictly denominated Sierra Leona; having its ſource a prodigious way up in the Superior Ethiopia, and emptying itſelf into the ſea on the frontiers of Bolm Monu, or Monow, forming there a great number of large marſhes. Large ſhips go up as far as Bagos, twenty-five miles from the mouth of the river, where the Engliſh formerly had a factory, and veſſels of ſixty and eighty tons burthen proceed as far as Kedham, above two hundred miles from the ſea, and indeed to the borders of the kingdom of Madingo; whence it is probable, that the Scherbro is a branch either from the river Gambia, out of the lake Sapor, or from the river Senegal, both of them ſtretching eaſtward at right angles to it. Above Kedham, the channel grows gradually narrower, and in many places would ſeem to be blocked up by the branches of large trees croſſing it; otherwiſe, in the months of April and May, during the rainy ſeaſons, when veſſels cut down the timber called cam, the channel is ten feet deep, and even in the dry ſeaſons, has ſeldom leſs than five or ſix feet ſoundings. The navigation of the Scherbro, is frequently interrupted by tornadoes, on the approach of which the veſſels are obliged to faſten themſelves ſtrongly with cables, to the large trees on the banks.

At the mouth of the river ſtands an iſland by the Engliſh called Scherbro, by the Portugueſe Forulba or Furelbocus, by the Dutch Maſta Quaja, and by the French Cerbera; ſtretching ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt along the coaſt, and forming a large bay between it and the continent. On the weſt point of Scherbro are three ſmall iſlands, called Tota, in a direct line with it, to which the

[a] Vide Finch, Labat, tom. ii. Relations d'Afrique Occid. Barbot, & Villault, ubi ſupra.

Engliſh

Engliſh have given the name of the Plantain Iſlands, from the quantity of that fruit they produce. As to the iſland Scherbro, its extends ten miles ſouth-eaſt, producing great abundance of rice, maize, yams, bananas, potatoes, Indian figs, ananas, citrons, oranges, water-melons, the nut called kola, with a variety of other fruits and roots. Fine pearls are found in an oyſter bred on the ſhore; but the fiſhing for them is dangerous, on account of the numbers of crocodiles, alligators, and ſharks, that infeſt all the mouth of the river. Wild fowl and elephants are alſo found here in ſuch plenty, as could not be expected in an iſland of ſo ſmall dimenſions. The inhabitants are idolaters; but practiſe the Jewiſh rite of circumciſion.

On a little iſland to the north-eaſt of Scherbro, called York Iſland, the Engliſh erected a fort, which they mounted with twenty pieces of large cannon; and at the diſtance of twenty paces from the fort on the ſame bank, they raiſed two large parapets, each defended by five pieces of artillery. All theſe works were built of ſtone, and the garriſon conſiſted of thirty-five Europeans, and fifty or ſixty Negroes. Before the building of this fort, the Engliſh had a lodge on the continent, cloſe to the ſea, fronting the eaſtern point of Scherbro; but both this and York Fort were relinquiſhed in the year 1727, the factors retiring to Jamaica, a little iſland ſo called, four miles weſt of York Iſland: now they are all abandoned, the company maintaining no factory at all on the iſland or river Scherbro.

Although the Scherbro is the firſt river of diſtinction between the Rio Seſtos, and the river Sierra Leona, there is a number of intermediate ſtreams and rivers of leſs note, ſome of which are navigable for ſeveral miles up, particularly Juneo, the moſt eaſtern river of the whole, the Rio de St. Paul, Rio de Galinas, and the Rio Maguiba or Nunez; and north-weſt of the Scherbro, beſides the river Sierra Leona, there are alſo, navigable by ſmall veſſels, the Rio St. Ana, Rio Pugomo, Rio de Capor, and the Rio des Pedras, all of them ſucceeding in a regular courſe north-weſt.

Of the natives of Cape Monte, &c.

We ſhall begin our deſcription of this country with Cape Monte, the firſt place of note we meet with north-weſt of Seſtos, or Cape Meſurado, except the inland kingdom of Folgia, now conquered by the king of Monu. This cape, which the natives call Waſh Kingo, is ſeen ſeveral leagues at ſea, having the appearance of an inland or great mountain, ſurrounded by the ſea, in 10 degrees

5 minutes north latitude; but, according to M. D'Anville's charts, in 7 degrees 40 minutes north. It is a true peninsula, stretching east-south-east, and west-north-west into the sea, affording secure anchorage in two fine bays, on the west side. There is a small river of the same name, that falls into the bay within half a mile of it, and supplies the shipping with good fresh water. On the banks of this river is a plain several leagues in extent, covered with villages, and all kinds of quadrupeds, as oxen, cows, goats, sheep, hogs, deer, hares, antelopes, with an infinite number of others; being in this particular one of the richest and most beautiful spots in the universe. Fowls of all sorts are found here in the utmost abundance; nor is the earth less prolific in fruits, roots, maize, rice, and millet. Here are pine-apples, citrons, lemons, oranges, and all the rich fruits of Europe, Asia, and America. The palm-wine is excellent, the air moderate, and the spring waters cool and refreshing; in a word, the country round Cape Monte is, except in the rainy season, the paradise of this part of Guinea.

Their manners. Des Marchais describes the inhabitants as not undeserving of so happy a situation, for they are mild in their nature, generous and sociable, handsome in their persons, industrious and disinterested, their labour being the result of reason, not of avarice. Snoeck conveys the same idea of this happy people, and indeed launches out into the highest encomiums on their virtues. Their chief occupations consist in cultivating rice, grain of all kinds, and making salt; certain portions of which are paid as a tribute to their monarch the king of Quoja, who holds them in the most abject subjection, but without diminishing their felicity, as his authority is raised entirely by their servile awe, rather than any extraordinary power he exerts. They are little acquainted with war, preferring peaceable negociations to arms, in all disputes with their neighbours. The men are permitted to keep as many women as they can maintain; and as the females are no less laborious than the males, they find their interest in the multiplicity of their women; nor are the husbands at all jealous of the freedoms which strangers take with their wives. *Government.* The supreme power under the king, and the courts of justice, are in the hands of the caboceroes, who deliberate upon all public affairs, and decide by a majority of voices. The officers of state are at the same time captains of villages, and their fidelity, prudence, and courage, obtain them those honourable employments.

Children

Children of both ſexes go naked till they arrive at the age of thirteen or fourteen years, when people of diſtinction wear a little cotton paan, and the common people remain in their primitive nakedneſs. None beſides the king, his court, and officers of the houſhold, go always clothed. The women of a middling degree wear girdles of ruſhes or palm leaves, at a certain time of life, when nature dictates that nakedneſs would be indecent; and theſe are prettily woven, hanging down to their knees, bordered with a fringe of ruſhes, or flounced with palm trees. They likewiſe wear braſs, copper, or iron bracelets round their wriſts, and large rings of the ſame metals upon their legs, to which they hang ſilver bells, which make a ſound not diſagreeable when they dance; an exerciſe of which, like all other Negroes, they are paſſionately fond. In other reſpects they are more chaſte, more modeſt, and induſtrious, than the generality of Negro women; and their huſbands more jealous, ſays Villault, contrary to the teſtimony of Barbot, Snoeck, and Des Marchais, as well as Labat, who beſtows the higheſt praiſes on the indulgence of the men in this inſtance; perhaps becauſe they found it convenient.

Dreſs. But the moſt common dreſs among people of condition of both ſexes is the tomi, made of woollen cloth, manufactured by themſelves. The women tie this round the waiſt, letting it fall to the knee; but the men fix it before, and bring it betwixt their legs, tying it to the girdle behind. Both ſexes take great delight in dreſſing their hair, or the wool of their heads, intermingling with it little plates of gold and other ornaments, an employment in which they beſtow all the time they can ſpare from their other amuſements and neceſſary avocations. Beſides this, the women have another paſſion, that is, in making what they call a fetiche, and dreſſing themſelves out in the manner moſt engaging to the men. Their chief ornament on this occaſion conſiſts of a line of paint, either white, yellow, or red, drawn acroſs their forehead, which, being laid on wet, falls down in ſtreaks to the eye-brows and cheeks before it dries. They have likewiſe circles of paint round their arms, legs, and waiſt, the Negroes diſcovering extraordinary beauty in this diverſity of colours. The ornaments among the men are much of the ſame kind, only differing in the ſize of the rings and bracelets, with which their arms, legs, fingers, and toes are loaded. Hardly the meaneſt Negro goes without

without ſome of theſe, and the number increaſes with the wealth and vanity of the wearer.

Buildings. In their houſes, which are of the ſame model we ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe when we come to Senegal, they are neat and cleanly. The royal palaces and the houſes of the great are oblong ſquares, having each one ſtory floored with beams in the manner we have mentioned in our account of Seſtos, and covered with palm leaves ſo cloſely united, that it withſtands the heavieſt rains, and moſt ſcorching beams of the ſun. The floor they divide into a number of apartments, allotted to different purpoſes; the firſt being a chamber of audience, ſurrounded with ſophas, raiſed about a foot above the floor, and covered with mats of palm leaves, beautifully united and diverſified with a thouſand elegant colours. Here the great paſs moſt of their time, ſtretched along thoſe couches, with their heads reſting in the laps of their favourite women; here they eat, drink palm-wine, and ſmoke tobacco, when they receive ſtrangers; another apartment anſwering thoſe purpoſes when the family is alone. In their manner of eating they are more civilized than moſt other Negroes; for they eat off plates of a hard wood, and diſhes of ivory neatly turned, and kept white with abundance of care. They uſe wooden ſpits for roaſting: and that their elegance may be more uniform and conſiſtent, their kitchens are entirely ſeparated from their houſes, to prevent their being incommoded by the heat, ſmoke, or fumes of the victuals.

Language. It is obſervable, that the language of the Negroes alters gradually as you paſs along from eaſt to weſt. Arts and ſciences being entirely unknown among them, their language is formed by a few words, ſufficient to expreſs the neceſſaries of life; and hence perhaps reigns that ſilence obſervable in all their public meetings and entertainments, their ideas being inſufficient to enliven converſation, and furniſh a conſtant fund of diſcourſe. Voyagers obſerve, that the ſame ſounds frequently occur, even in a ſhort diſcourſe; and that their ſongs are only a repetition of five or ſix words. Villault ſays, that in his time a corrupt Portugueſe mixture was in great vogue among them; nor need we be ſurpriſed at this, conſidering the number of Mulattoes ſpread all over that part of Africa, who have formed to themſelves a language, by blending together the Portugueſe and Negro tongues.

Religion. The ſame author obſerves, that it is difficult for Europeans to procure a diſtinct idea of their religion, which is a mix-

a mixture of Mohammedifm, borrowed from the Moors who crofs the continent, of idolatry, ignorance, and fuperftition. He was once feriofly told by a fenfible Negro, that the white men worfhipped God, but the black men were votaries to the devil; and Des Marchais affures us, that they pay great regard to this being. They pray and facrifice to him, but without acknowleging his divinity or loving him; and Snoeck remarks, with great appearance of truth, and from many inftances, that their religion confifts in paying an entire fubmiffion to the will of their king and governors; in this is contained the fum of all virtue; as for what paffes above, they give themfelves no trouble about it.

All the Europeans who trade hither, buy up great quantities of mats, cotton cloths, and ivory, which is nothing inferior to what they find on the Ivory Coaft; however, what the natives purchafe from the northern Negroes is of a yellower caft, and of lefs value, though larger than what is produced in their own country. Here alfo are purchafed the fkins of lions, tigers, panthers, and other fierce animals, with which all the mountains are filled. This coaft likewife affords five or fix hundred flaves yearly; but they are fuch as they buy, or get in exchange for their commodities from the king of Mandingo, and the interior regions of Africa; for cuftom forbids their enflaving any other befides criminals, which are fold for the king's emolument. Cape Monte furnifhes as much gold, Des Marchais believes, as would fupport the expences of a factory, although it is drawn from the interior countries. Befides all thefe articles of commerce, the woods abound with trees ufeful in dying, which the Negroes cut down and carry in logs to the fhore, in pieces of about five feet in length, ready to be fhipped. This is the wood which our merchants call cam, and prefer in many refpects to Brafil wood. Atkins obferves, that the timid difpofition of the natives is almoft the only obftruction to an advantageous trade with this coaft. They furround the fhip in canoes, which they row with great dexterity, and fing all the while out of refpect, if they happen to have a cabocero on board. Before they board the fhip they examine her clofely, and after they mount the deck betray their fears, by a certain impatience and anxiety vifible in every countenance, which makes them hurry on bufinefs, and upon the flighteft accident throw themfelves into the fea. When a cabocero comes on board, he immediately prefents to the captain a certificate from

Trade.

from the last European ship that touched there, in testimony of the honour and kindness with which she was treated; a custom of great use, if practised with discretion and judgment; but if followed indiscriminately, through good nature, of bad consequence, as it only furnishes the Negroes with the fairer opportunity of plundering and stealing.

The kingdom of Mesurado.

It would be endless to treat of every separate kingdom within the division of Sierra Leona, and indeed unnecessary, as the natural productions and manners of the people have nothing strikingly different: it may not however be improper to give a short description of the kingdom of Mesurado, before we proceed to the north-west end of Sierra Leona. Notwithstanding this country comes first in order in our course from the south-east to the north-west coast, yet we have deferred our account of it, as of less importance, and in some measure dependent on the former.

Between Cape Mesurado and the river Sestos is Rio Junco, a beautiful river, called likewise Rio del Punto, under 5 deg. 50 min. north latitude, about five hundred paces wide at its entrance, the banks clothed with a perpetual verdure, displayed in groves of oranges, limes, and all manner of fruit-trees. Six miles east from hence is the river Jabo, on which stands a fine village, large and well peopled. Near this it was, that the merchants of Dieppe established a factory, some vestiges of which still remain; enough indeed to assure us, says Des Marchais, that the Normans traded hither. As to Cape Mesurado and the adjacent country, Snoeck affirms, that the chief wealth of the natives arises from the excellent palm-wine produced in this country, in great abundance; and that rice holds the second rank in trade. The natives take in exchange bujis and kowris, the most valuable of all possessions in their opinion; insomuch that Phillips, for about half a pint of these shells, bought thirty pounds weight of rice. They are also fond of bars of iron and scarlet cloths; but the country produces nothing worth while to carry a cargo thither. Des Marchais on the contrary affirms, that Cape Mesurado furnishes fifteen hundred or two thousand slaves yearly, five hundred quintals of ivory, gold in proportion to the address and diligence of the factor employed, and as much dying wood as can be required.

Customs, manners, and religion, of the natives.

The country is populous, and the villages stand so thick along the coasts, that they resemble one continued town. The

The women are ſo remarkably prolific, that one is amazed how the country finds ſuſtenance for ſuch a number of children. Although the laws of proportion are but little regarded in building particular houſes, yet their towns are laid out with the ſtricteſt order, and in a manner ſo analogous, that they can hardly be diſtinguiſhed from each other, but by the ſurrounding country. The king's palace differs in nothing but extent and the number of apartments from other houſes, only that here he has a magnificent ſtate room; magnificent at leaſt, for the ſimplicity of their manners and ignorance of all the arts of refinement and luxury. In the middle of each village ſtands, upon pilaſters about ſix feet from the ground, a town-hall, what the natives call a kaldé, or converſation chamber. As the doors of this hall always ſtand open, you may enter at any hour, and meet with company and palm-wine. Here they tranſact bargains, talk over their narrow politics, drink, and ſmoke tobacco. At Cape Meſurado there is one piece of luxury practiſed, but little known in any part of Guinea, from Cape de Tres Puntas to Senegal, and that is a kind of litter or palanquin of palm leaves, in which perſons of condition are carried on the ſhoulders of ſlaves. Phillips had occaſion to go to Andrea, the capital and reſidence of the then reigning prince, who was called Peter; a name that had deſcended for generations, from king to king of this country. It ſtands about eight miles up the little river Meſurado, ſurrounded by wood, and entirely hid till you are ready to enter it. Like all the other villages and towns of the kingdom, it is walled round by a ſtrong high earthen parapet and ditch, which entirely conceals the houſes, and defends them. Inſtead of gates are little holes in the wall, juſt enough to creep through, that being their method of fortifying. Their mats on which they ſit are elegant, and prettily diverſified with red, white, yellow, green, and a variety of other colours. One thing remarkable in their buildings, eſpecially the kitchens, is, that they are open to the contrary ſide to what the wind blows. If they have an eaſterly breeze, they throw open the weſt ſide, if a ſouth breeze, they receive the cool air from the north; having by theſe means a freſh draught of air, without the inconveniency of a briſk wind. In general thoſe houſes reſemble theatres, more than dwelling houſes. Beſides theſe, the Negroes have large buildings, intended for granaries, and for the moſt part well ſtocked with rice, millet, pulſe, palm-oil, and aqua vitæ. Every week's

week's provision is given out to the women by the master of the family, and then the magazine is locked up. An admirable order and regularity is preserved in all domestic concerns, every woman having her particular province appointed her; they take care of their children, render mutual good offices to each other, neither ambition or jealousy raising heats and contentions to disturb the tranquility of the family; but all living rather with the harmony of sisters, than with the rancour of rivals, in the affection of their lord.

The religion of the country is the grossest idolatry, confused, and without any certain principle; their fetiches altering with their humour, and according to their caprice. The most constant object of worship is the sun, to which glorious luminary they make sacrifices, and offerings of palm-wine, oil, fruits, and different sorts of animals. Formerly they used to sacrifice human victims; a barbarous custom that has ceased, since commerce pointed out to them that their true interest consisted in the multiplicity of their slaves and prisoners, whom they sell to the Europeans. The offerings are made by the hands of the high priest or marbut, who shares with the king all that is valuable in it, the rest being left to the populace. The doctrine of Mahomet has never yet had footing among this people, although the name given their high priest seems to countenance this opinion; whence it is probably a name applied by the Europeans, and received into their language by the Negroes.

Of the river Sierra Leona.

North-west of Scherbro, is the great river of Sierra Leona, by some called Mitomba, and by others Tagrin or Tagrim. This river derives its origin from a lake in the kingdom of Mandingo, according to some geographers; while others maintain it to be a branch of the river Senegal, or rather of the Niger; neither of which opinions are supported by unexceptionable proofs. The mouth, or first opening of the river, is three miles, some say three leagues wide; but four or five miles up, its breadth is reduced to one mile. The entrance is not above two fathom deep, except a narrow channel close under the mountains, which varies from six to ten fathoms water; a circumstance that greatly affects the trade and navigation of this fine river. It abounds with fish, but is infested with crocodiles as far as it is known by the Europeans, probably indeed to its very source. It is bordered, without a single breach, with fine large trees, and filled with little islands all covered with wood, particularly the palm,

palm, whence the natives make incredible quantities of wine. When Villault was here in 1666, the English had a factory in one of the most fertile and beautiful of these islands. Their house was built of brick and hewn stone, defended by four pieces of cannon, and a small garrison.

Barbot observes, that the north side of the river being low and flat, it is the southern country which is filled with high mountains, that, properly speaking, is called Sierra Leona: however, most voyagers give all that coast from Sestos to Cape Verga this general appellation. In the open and plain country, although the heat of the sun be intolerable before a breeze rise. yet a refreshing gale always springing up towards the middle of the day, renders the country supportable enough, except it be woody and mountainous. In general, it must be allowed to be an unhealthy climate to Europeans, as but too many instances of losses sustained by this nation evidently confirm. The continual thunder and rain, with a close, stifling, and malignant heat, that prevail for six months, and especially for four months of the year, bring on such a corruption of the air, that myriads of insects are produced, and all animal food reduced in a few hours to a state of thorough putrefaction. People are confined for several days together in their chambers, to avoid as much as possible the pestilential infection of the atmosphere. Sometimes tornadoes produce a scene the most frightful and astonishing, day is turned into night, the most horrible darkness overcasts mid-day, and the face of nature seems all of a sudden to be changed. However this may seize strangers with amazement and terror, it is seldom attended with consequences that are fatal, or in the least dreadful to the natives, so powerful is custom and habit [b].

Of the climate.

Sierra Leona is inhabited by two nations, the one called Vieux Capez, as the French spell it; the other Kombus Manez. The former pass for the most polished people in Africa; the latter for a barbarous, bold, warlike, and restless nation; esteemed man-eaters, or anthropophagi, as we are told the word *manez* imports in the Negro language. The Portuguese of Kongo and Angola, look upon the Capez and Manez as the same race with the Giagas and Galas, who inhabit the east and north-east parts of Kongo, and who have long been the terror of all their

Of the Capez and Manez nations.

[b] Atkins, p. 56. Barbot, p. 72. Villault, p 154. Des Marchais, tom. i. p. 79, & seq.

neighbours.

neighbours. They are all believed to be sprung from the Calas Monous, possessing those interior lands at the source of the river Sestos, as from one common root. The Capez and Manez nations were at perpetual war, till the year 1505, when the latter leaving the inland countries, resolved to settle on the coast, of which the former were the natural inhabitants, taking the cruel resolution to ruin their country, and sell it to the Portuguese, who had about that time settled on the western coast of Guinea. After their arrival, they found the soil so rich and fertile, that they determined to remain there, and to sell all the Capez prisoners they could make to the Portuguese, and eat all those who perished in battle. Despair however animating the Capez nation, and giving vigour to their arms, the enemy found it impracticable to compass their design of wholly subduing or rather extirpating them. They maintained a part of their territories, while these barbarians possessed the rest; continual wars ensued, which lasted to the time Barbot was on that coast, in 1678. At that very time the Manez were preparing for a vigorous descent, and the others for a no less vigorous resistance; whence it may be conjectured, how destructive to both nations those incessant hostilities in so long a course of years must have proved. The Capez were the greatest sufferers, being despoiled of a part of their fine territories, their arts and commerce disturbed, the nation depopulated, and every thing kept in constant confusion by the alarms of those formidable and cruel neighbours. Their battles began however to be less bloody than formerly they had been; both sides were exhausted, and nothing hardly remained but the desire of hurting, the ability being spent. It is affirmed, that now they both are subject to the king of Quoja, who has his residence at Cape Monte. Flansin, one of the predecessors of those princes, having conquered them, his posterity have ever since continued to govern them by viceroys, called donghas; in time, however, these donghas erected themselves into a kind of independent princes, and were, at the time Atkins was in the country (1727), at war among themselves, the younger brother with the elder. The younger called Tom, then about sixty years of age, resided at Tombey, within a mile of Bagos, at a place where the English shipping usually come to an anchor.

Their frequent wars.

Of the kingdoms of Burri and Bolm.

The north side of the river Sierra Leona, towards its mouth, is possessed by two petty kings, the monarchs of Burri and Bolm, the first to the south, the other to the

the north. The king of Burri commonly resides at a village of the same name, which consists of about three hundred huts, and five hundred inhabitants fit to bear arms. As to the king of Bolm, we are told that he and several of his court have been converted to Christianity by the Portuguese missionaries; how enlightened they may be we are not informed. In the language of the country, according to Barbot, Bolm signifies *low ground*, which some pronounce Bulom and Bulon, adding Berre, or *good*, from which they make out the name Bulemberre, by which the whole country of Sierra Leona is sometimes denominated. The coast of Bolm is low and flat in comparison of that of Burri, behind which lie the famous mountains the Portuguese call Sierra Leona, forming a chain of the highest hills, except the Amboses, of any on the south or north of Guinea. Within these mountains are such a number of dens and caverns, that a cannon fired in the bay, makes a frightful echo here, nor had thunder a less dreadful effect, the first time it was heard in this country. Hence it was, that the Portuguese called them Montes Claras.

Of the islands in the river Sierra Leona.

To return to the river Sierra Leona: it is filled with islands and little rocks, that resemble a number of hay ricks. The chief islands are Togu, Tasso, Benfé, in the last of which the English had a factory and little fort, fronting the palace of captain Tom. The fort was built of stone, flanked with parapets, mounted with five pieces of heavy artillery, with an intermediate curtain and platform mounted with ten cannon. The garrison was usually composed of twenty white and thirty black men, free Negroes, who lived in huts covered by the cannon of the fort. In 1704 it was taken without resistance by two French men of war, under the command of the Sieur Guerin. At that time the garrison amounted to a hundred men, all of whom, except a gunner and six soldiers, abandoned the fort, headed by the commander, on the approach of the shipping. After pillaging the fort, and making prize of four thousand elephants teeth, together with other merchandize proper for the country, the French razed it to the ground. As for the fort on the island of Tasso, it was destroyed by De Ruyter in the year 1664.

At a small distance from the head of the bay of France, a creek near the entrance of the river, Barbot takes notice of a bason of fresh water, which tumbling down the mountains, is collected in this reservoir in such a quan-

tity, that an hundred tons may be filled in an hour by a few hands. Nothing can exceed in beauty this delightful ſpot, ſurrounded with hills covered with wood, which afford a perpetual ſhade, in a country parched with the ſun, the numberleſs caſcades gliding down the mountains in gentle murmurs, or ruſhing with an impetuous ſtream and noiſe, which either lull or rouſe the attention, juſt as you happen to apply the object, or aſſiſt to give an additional coolneſs to the ſcene. In this agreeable retreat it was, that our author uſed frequently to dine, and ſpend whole days, when his buſineſs would permit. In a wood, at a ſmall diſtance from hence, is the houſe of captain Tom, or rather the reſidence, compoſed of a number of little huts, round which he has a well cultivated plantation, filled with delicious fruits. He exacts a duty of two or three crowns from ſhipping, for the privilege of wooding and watering here. The whole country on every ſide the river is rich in rice and millet, which makes the chief ſuſtenance of the inhabitants. The women grind the rice and form it into little balls or cakes, while the men ſteep it in water, and eat it greedily without any other preparation. Lemons, oranges, citrons, and bananas, are produced in great plenty and perfection; but they have but little Guinea pepper, that however being excellent which the country affords. Farther, up the river, all the above fruits, together with ananas, Indian figs, watermelons, wild pears, caſſava, white prunes, manioke, different ſorts of pulſe, and the nut kola, are in extreme abundance. Theſe proviſions they carry upon their ſhoulders to the ſhore, for the uſe of ſhipping in the road.

The natural productions of the country.

Beſides fruits, roots, and the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, there are in great abundance, fowls, hogs, hares, and deer, which mariners may purchaſe for a little brandy, of which the natives are extravagantly fond, preferring it to the beſt palm wine. The mountainous parts are well ſtocked with elephants, lions, tygers, wild boars, different ſorts of apes and monkeys, together with ſerpents of ſo monſtrous a ſize, that, if we may credit writers, each of them is capable of ſwallowing a man whole. The Negroes pretend to have a plant of ſovereign virtue againſt the poiſon of this animal; but as it is ſcarce, the natives frequently periſh of their wounds before it can be procured. Monkeys are ſo plentiful, that forming themſelves into bodies, they make incurſions into all the plantations, which they ravage and ſpoil with that eagerneſs for miſchief, peculiar to this ugly animal. One kind of

them

them they call barry, is of a monſtrous height, and amazing docility. When young they learn to walk erect, and ſeldom chuſe any other poſture: they grind their rice or millet, ſteep it in water, carry it in veſſels on their heads, and turn the ſpit when meat is roaſting. Nothing is too difficult for this imitative animal; they will even open oyſters, of which they are great lovers, with a knife. Here the Negroes are fond of their fleſh, preferring it to that of all other animals, except the elephant. The woods furniſh a retreat to an infinite number of parrots, paroquets, pigeons, and other birds, of the moſt beautiful kinds, but they are not eaſily taken, on account of the thickneſs and cloſeneſs of the trees. The ſea and rivers afford the ſame fiſh as the other parts of Guinea, and a conſtant ſupply of freſh proviſions to the European mariners; for the Negroes here are too indolent, ſays Barbot, to make the inſtruments of fiſhing, and catch no other fiſh but what is left by the ſea among the rocks.

Every part of the country is covered with wood and fruit-trees, ſome wholeſome and congenial to the human conſtitution, others virulently poiſonous. Finch, in his voyage, mentions a tree reſembling a beech, which the Negroes call agon: it bears an oblong fruit, like the pod of a bean, diſtinguiſhed into three kinds from its ſize, but all of the ſame malignant qualities. The Negroes uſe them in poiſoning their arrows, for which purpoſe nothing can be better contrived, the ſmalleſt quantity of it, entering the humours of the body, being fatal. Within the pod are incloſed four or five ſquare beans, almoſt like the ſeed of a tamarind, incircled with a hard rind, containing a yellow kernel, from whence the poiſon is extracted.

The dreſs of the natives.

The inhabitants of this part of Sierra Leona, on both ſides the river, are not ſo black or flat noſed as moſt of the other Negroes. They adorn their ears with a great number of toys they call kazubos; and it is uſual with them to mark their cheeks and noſes with certain figures, raiſed by a red hot iron. Their fingers are loaded with iron rings, and their arms with bracelets. Both ſexes go naked to the age of fifteen; at which time they begin to dreſs in a little piece of cloth, wrapt round the waiſt or the back, or leaves of trees formed into aprons. They alſo wear a leathern girdle or belt, to which hangs a long knife or poinard; but perſons of condition appear abroad in a long flowing robe of ſtriped callico, like the Mooriſh dreſs, with this girdle buckled over it, or under, according as they intend to be more or leſs dreſſed.

Their disposition and manners.

As they are naturally malicious, turbulent, and jealous in their dispositions, they seldom live long without quarrels and dissensions among themselves; and the Europeans, who are continually exposed to their insults, can contrive no better means of vengeance, than by burning their huts and ruining their plantations. On the other hand, they are temperate and sober, from a dislike to gluttony and drunkenness. Though they are beyond belief lovers of spirits, yet do they never drink to excess, deeming the loss of reason to be one of the most beastly vices a man can commit. They have likewise a quickness of apprehension, and a delicacy of sentiment, particularly the Capez nation, not to be met with in other Negroes; however they are, it must be acknowledged, extremely lascivious and effeminate; though their constant wars with the Manez has somewhat exalted their courage, and improved their military skill. Every town in this country is provided with a public room or school, to which all parents send their daughters to be taught singing, dancing, and other accomplishments, under the eye of a matron of noble birth. After a year's residence here, the young ladies have a public ball, where they give proofs to all the inhabitants of the town, of the proficiency they have made at school: and this may be called the school of love; for here young men chuse their wives, pay their first addresses, and are first attracted. No regard to birth or fortune is heard of here; but every one chuses the woman whose accomplishments he thinks are most likely to render him happy. A lover no sooner declares his affections, than he is already looked upon as married, provided his circumstances will admit of making certain presents to the parents of the young lady, and to the matron entrusted with her education.

Villault affirms, that all sense of decency and modesty is confined to the men, the females being the most abandoned of all prostitutes. According to him, their women are all in common: a man takes a certain number of wives, or as many as he pleases, confining his embraces to a few; the rest he lets out upon hire to his neighbours or strangers. She who holds the first place in the affections of the husband, and properly bears the title of wife, is served with great submission by the rest, and her virtue narrowly watched by the husband. Their methods of punishment and purgation of crimes are similar to what we have described in our account of the Gold Coast. On a charge of adultery, murder, and the most heinous crimes,

crimes, the accuſed muſt drink of a certain red water, prepared by his judges; that is, if his life has been diſorderly, or ſtrong preſumptions appear that he bore malice to the deceaſed. Of this he drinks till he ſwells up and dies, it being prepared ſtrong on purpoſe: but when the judges intend to mitigate the puniſhment, they dilute the water plentifully, and weaken the force of the ingredients.

They have their palaavers, or town-houſes, where the chief perſons of the village meet, to adjuſt differences among the inhabitants, or with Europeans. On entering the great hall they ſalute each other, by bending the elbow and touching the forehead with the hand. After both parties are heard, and the caſe fully canvaſſed, the equity of their ſeveral claims is ſettled by a vote of the majority of the judges. Panyarring is a term for ſtealing men, or indeed any thing elſe. If a man has been defrauded by his neighbour, cuſtom has eſtabliſhed it into a law, that he may retaliate to the amount of his loſs; but he muſt prove before the judges at the palaaver court, that he is no gainer by the exchange of property.

Their huts are generally of an orbicular form, a ſpacious area in the middle, the doors paved with oyſter and cockle ſhells, two or three croſſes erected in different parts of the houſe, and the whole ſurrounded by limes, papas, pine-apple, and plantane trees, and bee-hives, which they make out of the trunk of a tree, and erect upon high poles [c].

Anointing their bodies, eſpecially their arms and legs, with palm oil, is a daily practice with the Negroes of both ſexes; which cannot be omitted without the imputation of ſlovenlineſs. Some uſe civet, or muſk, procured from an animal found on the banks of the Scherbro, about the ſize or larger than a cat, with a head reſembling a fox's. This ſpecies of perfume cat we have already deſcribed.

As to their religion and government, Barbot obſerves, that they hold ſome particular tenets, no where elſe to be met with. Before the Capez and Manez had erected themſelves into independent ſtates, they were governed by viceroys, who adminiſtered juſtice according to the laws of the country. They held their courts and other public meetings in a hall that ſurrounded their palaces, which they called fankos, at the upper end of which was

[c] P. 72.

ſeated the viceroy, as ſupreme judge, upon a throne raiſed high, and covered with a beautiful mat for a canopy; the ſaltateſquis, or counſellors, being placed round him on benches. Here the parties with their advocates are produced, and, after pleading their ſeveral cauſes, the viceroy ſums up the arguments, which he refers to the counſellors, as to a jury. Sentence is pronounced according to the opinion of a majority, the judge having a caſting vote, and immediately executed, whether it be a fine, or corporal puniſhment, or baniſhment. The advocates or lawyers are no leſs prepoſterous in their dreſs than the gentlemen of the long robe in Europe; for they uſe clappers in their hands and bells on their legs, with which they lay an emphaſis upon thoſe parts of their pleadings which they would have particularly attended to by the judge, by jingling their bells and ſtriking their clappers. They are dreſſed in long robes, or a kind of caſſock, adorned with large plumes of feathers, which to an European give them an air of extreme buffoonery; nor are the ceremonies accompanying the election of a ſaltateſque a whit leſs ridiculous. The candidate is ſeated in a wooden chair, dreſſed in the manner of the country. After the viceroy has ſeveral times ſtruck his face with the bloody entrails of a he-goat, killed for the occaſion, he then rubs his body all over with the ſame piece, claps a red bonnet on the head of the candidate, and pronounces the word ſaltateſque. This diſagreeable and uncleanly ceremony being ended, the new counſellor is carried in his chair three times round the ſanko, and for three days gives a public entartainment, celebrated with bonfires and the diſcharge of muſquetry; to cloſe the ceremony, and be duly elected, he ſacrifices an ox, which he cuts in pieces, and divides among all his brother counſellors.

Their religion. After the converſion of the king of Fatima, by father Bareira, a great number of Negroes in all countries, followed his example, and received the light of the goſpel. This converſion, of which the Jeſuits boaſt ſo greatly, was effected in the year 1607; ſince which time the natives of the coaſt, and indeed interior countries, have relapſed into their former idolatry. In Sierra Leona, as well as in many other parts of Africa, the Negroes wear on their arms, legs, or breaſts, little figures, they call grifgris, to which they pay a conſtant worſhip and adoration. Whenever they eat or drink, they offer a part of their food to this little deity. Fully aſſured that he has a particular influence and authority over the element of water,

water, they never enter their canoes, either on the ſea or rivers, without being ſecured from danger by this preſervative; and as they attribute the ſucceſs of their voyage to the kind interpoſition of the fetiche, ſo they redouble their adoration, zeal, and acknowlegements for his favour, on return from any expedition.

Deſcription of their perſons and religion by Labat.

Labat is more particular in his deſcription of the perſons and religion of the Negroes of Burri. Both men and women are tall and agreeably ſhaped, of an extreme black complexion, regular features, lively piercing eyes, and white teeth. There is not to be ſeen among them a flat noſe, or thick lips, nor any of thoſe blemiſhes of features, eſteemed beauties among other Negroes. The men have as many women as they are able to purchaſe by preſents to the parents: but though they treat them with extreme regard, they are jealous only of one woman, who is in fact the wife, the others being rather on the footing with concubines, permitted to proſtitute themſelves to ſtrangers for hire, which they ſhare with the huſband. Nor is there the leaſt reproach annexed to their incontinence: on the contrary, they are looked upon as faithful ſervants, attached to the intereſt of their maſters, and labouring diligently in their vocations. During their pregnancy a huſband has no commerce with his wife, nor for the term of four years after her delivery. The prince who reigned at Burri, in 1666, had embraced the Chriſtian religion, and was baptized by the name of Philip; but he allowed his ſubjects liberty of conſcience, not preſſing their converſion, though he entertained the miſſionaries at his court, the one a Jeſuit the other a Capuchin. The zeal of thoſe fathers had but little effect in checking the extreme paſſion of the natives for women and wine, the two moſt obſtinate vices in the breaſt of a Negro: yet the other writers extol them as mirrors of ſobriety and temperance. In other reſpects, ſay the Jeſuits, they are honeſt, ſincere, humane, and hoſpitable to ſtrangers. They ſtill retain ſomething of the manners of the Normans, who were once ſettled among them, if we may believe the French writers; who have an admirable talent in complimenting their own nation upon the moſt trivial occaſions. The prevailing religion, ſays Labat, is idolatry; but without principle, order, feſtivals, or ceremonies. The number of their gods is indefinite, or rather infinite; every one creating his own deity, as caprice directs. One worſhips a horn, another a crab-ſhell or claw, a third a nail, a bird's head, a cockle, or a ſtone; and all

these objects of their devotion are called fetiches: in this respect differing in nothing from the more eastern provinces of Guinea.

Barbot informs us, that in the province or kingdom of Capez the royal dignity was hereditary in the same family, before they were conquered by the king of Quoja; the youngest son always succeeding to the crown: but in case of a deficiency of heirs male, the next of blood was called to the throne, with some very peculiar customs. A number of the nobility visit him at his house, tie his hands behind, and in this condition carry him to the palace, amidst crowds of people, who scoff and insult him by the way, and have even the privilege of beating him with rods; intimating that this is the last time he will ever see the real inclinations of the people. On his arrival at the palace he is invested with the badges of royalty in the sankos, or great hall, where he is attended by the saltatesques, and nobles of the kingdom. The oldest counsellor then harangues the people on the necessity of chusing a prince, and enlarges in praise of the monarch elect; after which he puts a hatchet into the king's hands, signifying thereby the necessity of punishing crimes injurious to society. The prince is then crowned amidst the acclamations of the people, all of whom flock to the throne to offer their submission and fidelity [d].

The deceased kings are buried in the public road leading to the capital; in favour of which custom they observe, that persons so much elevated above the rank of other men in their life-time, should likewise be distinguished by some extraordinary ceremony at their deaths. All the other ceremonies resemble those we have mentioned in our account of the Gold Coast. Every one is buried with something the most valuable of what he possessed, and a small opening is left at the head of the grave. The body is carried to the grave by a silent company of friends, more or less numerous, according to the quality of the defunct; and the hired mourners pour out their plaints and tears in proportion as they are paid.

We shall conclude this section with a short extract from Atkins, concerning captain Joseph, of whom we have made mention a little above. This little prince had removed from his village, on account of the expence of living so near the English factory; and also for the conveniency of panyarring. He had been in England and Por-

[d] Barbot, p. 123.

tugal,

tugal, at the laſt of which places he was baptized, and received into the boſom of the Chriſtian church. He had built a little chapel, for preaching the doctrine of Chriſt, where he and his people that were Chriſtians uſed to aſſemble. Here he erected a croſs; taught ſeveral of his people to read, and diſperſed among them little Romiſh prayers. Through dint of induſtry and commerce he has enriched himſelf, and made his people happy, the country round him abounding in beautiful plantations of grain, roots, and fruits; while his inland neighbours are forced to live upon honey and manyoco root. When Atkins viſited him he was dreſſed in an European habit, gown, ſlippers, and a cap, and received him with great courteſy and hoſpitality. He ſent his canoes with the Europeans to ſhew them the diverſion of catching manetees, and left nothing undone that could contribute to render their viſit agreeable to them, or impreſs a favourable idea of his own character.

CHAP. LVII.

The Hiſtory of the Interior Countries of Africa.

SECT. I.

Containing a Geographical Deſcription of the Interior Countries from Rio Seſtos to Sierra Leona; particularly of the Empire of Monou, and the Kingdoms of Quoja and Hondo: alſo a Deſcription of the Manners, Religion, Government, &c. of the Natives.

Deſcription of the interior countries.

WE ſhall begin this chapter with an account of the interior countries between Rio Seſtos and Sierra Leona. The firſt people of note we meet with are the Quabes, inhabiting the ſouthern banks of the river Seſtos. They had formerly been conquered by Flanſire, king of Folgia, but having thrown off their ſubjection, they have ever ſince remained a free people, though under the protection

tection of the emperor of Monou, or Manou (A). Next follow the powerful nation of Folgia, and great empire of Monou; the limits of both which are utterly unknown. Both kingdoms are watered by the rivers Junco and Arvorado, which divide Folgia from the kingdom of Karrow; but since the union of these two nations, the monarch of Karrow resides in the kingdom of Folgia. The Folgians are dependent on the emperor of Monou, and the Quojans upon them.

The empire of Monou. This powerful monarch extends his authority over all the neighbouring nations, and has reduced them almost to a servile obedience, a few only excepted. They pay him an annual tribute of the produce of their country, or of European merchandize purchased from the maritime Negroes, such as glass toys, bars of iron, or slaves; and the Folgians expect the same tributes in their turn from their vassals. They give the emperor of Monou the cognomen of mandi, which signifies *lord*, and to the Quojans that of mandi monou, or *servants of the lord*; esteeming it an honour to be distinguished as tributaries to his imperial majesty. Hence our geographers are fallen into the mistake of confounding the provincial or tributary kingdom of Quoja with the empire of Monou [a]. Notwithstanding this submission to the emperor, each king enjoys an unbounded jurisdiction within his own territories, and can make laws, declare war or peace, without permission from any one, and of his own will and choice. It is really astonishing that a people, once so despicable as those of Monou formerly were, should be able in the course of a few years to establish so potent, extensive, and vast an empire as it now is, by force of arms alone; and it is perhaps no less amazing, that so potent a people as the Folgians should quietly submit to the yoke, without once attempting to recover their liberty. No other cause can possibly be assigned for events so extraordinary, but the situation of the countries, and the admirable policy of the court of Monou, of which we shall have occasion to speak farther,

[a] Barbot, p. 83. ubi supra. Vide etiam auct. citat. ubi supra.

(A) We find this empire called by English geographers Mendi Manow, and even the sieur D'Anville, improved by Bolton, has it so in his chart of the coast of Africa; but we have preferred the authority of Barbot and Dapper.

farther, after we have described the different kingdoms of this division.

Next follows the powerful kingdom of Lower Quoja, comprehending all that space from Cape Masurado to the river Scherbro, surrounding the sea-coast behind, in an arc of a circle. Upper Quoja is situated farther north-west, and is bounded by the Scherbro, the kingdoms of Hondo on the north, Silm on the north-west, and the kingdom of Eastern Bolm on the south. Barbot affirms, that all the interior country, from Cape Monti to Wacongo, near the river Sierra Leona, bears the name of Quoja; but we have ventured upon the authority of Dapper, D'Anville, and the accurate geographer Bolton, to lay it down more south-east, beginning with Cape Masurado. *Kingdom of Quoja.*

As to the kingdoms of Galas, Galavey, Hondo, and Karrow, we know nothing besides their names, and that they form a chain behind the maritime provinces, from Quoja to the kingdom of Mitombo. Thus much travellers inform us of the kingdom of Galas, viz. that its capital is called Gala Falli; and that the country is filled with towns and villages, most of which stand on the banks of the river Massilagh. The kingdom of Hondo is divided into four principalities, Massilagh, Dedouagh, Dangyrni, and Dandi, whose viceroys or princes are appointed by the king of Quoja. They have all an equal authority, and pay the same tribute to their superior, viz. copper vessels, cloth of Quapa from the Ivory Coast, scarlet cloths made in the country, and salt. *Hondo a powerful state.*

The two last kingdoms are Silm or Cilm, and Bolm. The first, according to Dapper, is forty miles from the sea. Amidst a number of other towns and villages, voyagers take notice of Quanamora in particular, which contains at least five thousand families; the inhabitants being accounted a faithless perfidious people. Eastern Bolm stands on the Scherbro, and is no more than a province of the former kingdom, which is itself tributary to the king of Quoja, and he again subject to the emperor of Monou; so that here are degrees, and a subordination of vassalage. The town of Boga, or Bogos, is the residence of the king, and contains about two hundred houses.

The Negroes of the interior countries, as well as those on the coast, are much given to venery, a disposition which greatly abridges their lives, and emasculates them before the prime of life. The women, who are no less addicted to the *Manners of the Interior Negroes.*

the pleasures of sense, use philtres, potions, and herbs, possessed of provocative virtues, in dressing their husbands victuals. In a word, nature is soon extinguished by the eager desire of making it perform actions above its powers. This is their greatest vice, and indeed the most prejudicial to society of any other; in all other respects they are temperate, modest, gentle, and sociable, to a degree much superior to the coast Negroes. They take no delight in shedding human blood; ambition seldom occasions wars, upon which they never almost enter but in self-defence. They live in the closest bonds of friendship, always ready to succour and relieve each other's distresses, and remove the slightest inconveniencies. With a friend under misfortunes they will share their cloaths, their victuals, and their all; expecting or receiving the same treatment from him in their turn. If a person happens to die when his effects are insufficient to bury him, his friends contribute to the expence of his interment, and attend with the same respect, and even form, as if he had divided an estate among them. Among each other, stealing, the common vice of the Negroes, is hardly known here; for, by the benevolence of their temper, it is rendered unnecessary; however, they are less scrupulous with strangers; a practice owing chiefly to the narrow minds and selfishness of European merchants, who have no idea of the generosity that reigns here. Upon the whole, one would imagine, that writers are describing an Utopia, and a republic of the imagination, not a rude uncivilized nation of Negroes, whom we unjustly term savage and barbarous.

Marriage ceremonies. Here, as in all other Negro nations, polygamy is suffered and encouraged by law; but whatever be the number of women, the husband attaches himself to one in particular, who has the government of all the rest, and of all domestic affairs. She is distinguished by the name of makilma; the marriage ceremony being the same as in other countries, with this difference only, that the bridegroom must necessarily make three nuptial presents to his intended bride. The first, which is called taglo, usually consists of a piece of coral, or glass trinkets; the second is called jafin, and for the most part is composed of pieces of cloth and apparel; and the third, called lafing, is a small chest or box, with a lock, in which to deposit her jewels and valuable effects. All these are proportioned in value to the wealth and affection of the bridegroom, and the humour of the bride. In return for this munificence, the father

father of the lady presents the husband with two suits of cloaths, a quiver filled with arrows, a sword and belt, and three or four baskets of rice. The care of the male children devolves upon the father, that of the females on the mother; nor do the men much regard the age of their bride, provided she bring a handsome portion. Here, as on the coast, they abstain from connubial embraces from the moment a woman is discovered to be pregnant [b].

Their manner of baptizing children.

Ten days after the child is born he has a name given him, upon which occasion the father, with all his domestics, armed with bows and arrows, make a tour round the town or village, singing and bawling out a kind of triumphant song or chorus, which is echoed by all the people they meet in their way, accompanied with instrumental music. A person charged with this ceremony takes the infant out of the mother's arms, and lays him upon a shield, placed in the midst of the assembly, with a bow and arrow in his hand, then pronounces a long and laboured discourse to the spectators; which finished, he begins another, turning to the infant, and addressing himself to him. This whole harangue is made up of wishes for his prosperity, that he may resemble his father, be industrious, faithful, and hospitable as him; that he may be able to build his own house, conduct his own affairs, have no inclination for the wives of his neighbours, be affectionate to his own; and lastly, that he be neither a drunkard, glutton, or spendthrift. The harangue being finished, he gives him a name, delivers him into the arms of his mother or nurse, upon which the assembly disperses, every man to his own home, except a select number of friends, who have an entertainment made for them, and spend the day in mirth and festivity. If the child prove a female, the mother or nurse carries it to the middle of the town, where the concourse is greatest, and there lays it upon a mat, with a stick in its hand. A female orator is appointed to pronounce the harangue, which she does with prayers, that the child may inherit all the accomplishments of the mother, and, like her, be possessed of all the female and domestic virtues, such as chastity, obedience to the will of her husband, affection for her children, and resolution to aid, follow, and support her lord in all hazards, dangers, and difficulties.

[b] Barbot, Villault, Des March. in loc. citat.

The

Right of inheritance.

The eldeſt ſon inherits all the effects and women of his father, except ſmall portions given to the younger ſons, to prevent their being reduced to poverty on his death; but a married man who dies without male iſſue, paſſes over his daughters, to leave his fortune to his nephews. If the whole male line chance to be extinct, then the effects belong to the crown, with this reſtriction, that the king provide a father to the daughters.

The chief occupation of the Negroes conſiſts in cultivating the earth; for they have no fiſhing, but what ariſes from a few rivers; nor trade, but in exchanging the productions of their plantations for the fiſh and other commodities of the coaſt Negroes.

Language and arts.

The general language of all the inland countries are the Quojan; though ſeveral provinces have their own particular dialects; for inſtance, the kingdoms of Hondo, Mendo, Folgia, Galas, and Gebbes, have languages all derived from the ſame root as the Quojan, or rather dialects of it; but ſo variegated, that they ſeem to have no affinity to each other, or connexion with the mother tongue. The moſt elegant branch is the Folgian, in which they have conſiderably refined upon the Quojan, and formed a ſmooth, ſoft, and vocal language, at the ſame time that it is full and expreſſive; for this reaſon it is called Mendiſko, which intimates the ſuperiority it has over all other tongues. The Negroes of rank pique themſelves upon talking with elegance, and find a peculiar beauty in ſimiles, allegories, and parables, inſomuch that the moſt trivial diſcourſe has ſomething in it of poetical ornament and dignity. Nor are they entirely ignorant of the ſciences, particularly aſtronomy, for they know the hour of the night by the ſtars, and diſtinguiſh the middle of it by the fifth ſtar in the head of the bull, that appears with the Pleiades, which they call monjading.

Funeral ceremonies.

The ceremonies of interment in this country reſemble in general thoſe of others, but differ in ſome circumſtances. After the body is waſhed they place it in an erect poſture, well propped up, and the hair finely decorated. They dreſs it in its beſt cloaths, place a bow and arrow in its hands, and in the mean while the friends perform a kind of mock ſkirmiſh; after which they fall upon their knees, with their backs turned upon the dead corpſe, and, with a menacing air, draw their bows, and declare vengeance againſt any one who dares to aſperſe the character of their friend, or has been acceſſary to his death. They next ſtrangle ſome of their ſlaves, recommending

mending it to them diligently to attend their friend in the next world; a barbarous cuſtom, which indicates that they have ſome faint idea of futurity and another ſtate. Before theſe unhappy victims are offered at the ſhrines of ſuperſtition and ignorance, they feed them with all the delicacies the country affords, and bury with them as much food and wine as they believe will laſt them during their journey, adviſing them to ſecrete no part of it from their maſter. While, on the other ſide, all the women, who have any connexion with the deceaſed, throw themſelves at his feet, repeating the word byune, that is, *conſole yourſelf, weep your tears!* At length the corpſe is laid upon a plank, or bier, and carried upon the ſhoulders of men to the grave, into which are thrown with it the bodies of the ſacrificed ſlaves, their mats, baſons, and kitchen utenſils; over them is thrown a mat, and this is covered with abundance of earth, to prevent noxious exhalations from the putrid bodies. The relations build round the grave a hut, with an iron rod at the top, to which is ſuſpended the arms of the deceaſed, by way of eſcutcheon. If the deceaſed be a female, inſtead of arms, all the implements of domeſtic induſtry are hung up; and for ſeveral months all kind of proviſions and liquors are brought to the tomb, to nouriſh the deceaſed in the next world, till they have cleared plantations and formed connexions in a ſtrange country.

It is cuſtomary to bury all thoſe belonging to the ſame family in one grave, at a ſmall diſtance from the place where they have died; and theſe cœmeteries, or burying-places, are commonly choſen in ſome deſerted village, which they then call Tombruoy. They eſteem human blood too precious to be ſpilt, and therefore ſtrangle the ſlaves deſtined for ſacrifices. However, this barbarous cuſtom begins to wear out of faſhion in moſt provinces; and where it is ſtill retained, the parents generally conceal themſelves and children upon the leaſt appearance of danger to the king's life; though they ſeldom eſcape without a reprimand, and cenſure of ingratitude, that, after having lived on the bread of their lord, they ſhould now refuſe to die for him. Another cuſtom they have is, to obſerve a faſt upon the death of a near relation or intimate friend. In general, this faſt continues but ten days, unleſs it be the king, or ſome perſon very dear to them; in which caſe it ſeldom is prolonged to leſs than a month. Thoſe who are bound to keep it liſting up their hands to heaven, ſwear they will not touch rice during that period; that

that they will drink nothing but so much water as a certain vessel, which they shew, will hold; and that they will wholly refrain from the nuptial embraces during the period of their mourning and humiliation; while, on the other hand, the women vow they will wear no other dress than white paans; that their hair shall be neglected, and the earth their bed as long as the fast continues; at the end of which the peninents hold their hands up to heaven, in testimony of their having fulfilled their engagements.

Obligatory ceremonies. No nation among the Negroes abound more with formal ceremonies than the Quojans; and the surest method to gain their esteem is, to mark the taste of their nation as to manners; many of them are such as do honour to humanity. If a woman be accused of adultery, and no other proof than the allegation of her husband appears, she is acquitted upon her oath. She swears by Belli Paaro that she is innocent; beseeching that spirit to confound her if she varies from the truth; but if, after the oath is made, she be convicted, the law ordains, that her husband bring her in the night to a public place, where a council sits to judge her, and pass final sentence. Here, after invoking the Jannanins, or certain spirits, her eyes are covered, to prevent her seeing those beings who are to carry her out of the world; and the criminal is left for a while in the belief, that this will certainly be her fate. When she has undergone the most dreadful apprehensions and irksome suspence, the oldest in council begins a solemn discourse, representing to her the shamefulness of a disorderly loose life, and threatening her with the most cruel punishment if she persist in it. All of a sudden a confused murmur, which passes for the voice of the Jannanins, is heard over the room, declaring, that her crime, though meriting the most rigorous chastisement, will be pardoned, as being the first trespass; enjoining certain mortifications and penances, and recommending so austere a chastity, that she will not take a male child in her arms, or touch the cloaths of a man. Hitherto the Quojans are persuaded, that fear and shame are punishments adequate to the offence; but if she fall under the same censure a second time, and the presumptions be clear, the bellimo, or *high-priest*, with one of his saggonoes, or *ministers*, attended by proper officers, go early to her house, making a prodigious noise with a kind of rattles. They seize her, and bring her to the court, obliging her to make three tours round the market-place, attended by the same noise and instruments, and all those of the

Punishment of adultery.

society

ſociety of belli being admitted evidences of what happens. Then, without hearing her defence, or promiſes of reformation, they conduct her to a wood, ſacred to the jannanins, from which moment ſhe is never again heard of, nor are the people permitted ever to mention her name. The Negroes believe that ſhe is carried out of the world by the jannanins; but Barbot ſuppoſes, with great probability, that ſhe is put to death in the wood, and her body interred in the moſt ſecret manner.

Tryal by bellimo, or a kind of purgation.

When a man is accuſed of murder or theft, without proofs ſufficient to convict him, he is condemned to the trial by bellimo, which is a compoſition of certain herbs and barks of trees, which they oblige the accuſed to hold in his hand, fully perſuaded, that if he be guilty, bliſters will immediately riſe upon the ſkin. Sometimes the bellimo conſiſts in obliging the accuſed to ſwallow a large glaſs of a liquor, compoſed from the bark of the neno and quoni trees which the Negroes believe to be virulently poiſonous. Thoſe whoſe conſciences are clear reject it immediately by vomit, and are deemed the more pure for this trial of their innocence; but the guilty ſhew a froth about the mouth, and are accordingly judged worthy of death. Thus convicted, the criminal is carried off to a ſecret grove, far removed from all habitations, and there ſuffers capital puniſhment. He is placed upon his knees, his head cut off, and ſtuck upon a javelin; his body is ſeparated into four quarters and ſent to his women, or rather given to them, for they generally aſſiſt at the execution, to receive and burn the laſt remains of the deceaſed. The friends boil the head, ſip the broth, and nail up the jaw-bone, in teſtimony of their having diſcharged their duty; a horrid cuſtom, totally inconſiſtent with the other manners of this ſenſible people.

Religion.

They acknowlege one Supreme Being, the creator of all things; but their ideas are too exalted to admit of a definition, or even a deſcription of the attributes of this Being, whom they call Kanno. However, they attribute to him infinite power, infinite knowlege, and ubiquity, or that univerſality and immenſity of nature which makes him every where preſent; but they are not agreed about his eternity; ſome affirming that he will be ſucceeded by another being, who puniſhes vice and rewards virtue. They believe that the dead are converted into ſpirits, whom they call jannanins, or protectors; their buſineſs being to guard their parents and ancient friends. A Negro who flies from any danger hurries to the tomb of his

patron ſpirit; if he eſcapes, it is attributed to his interpoſition; in acknowlegement for which he ſacrifices a cow, rice, and palm-wine, as an offering, in preſence of the living friends of the jannanin, who celebrate the occaſion with ſinging and dancing round the tomb. The Quojans who have received any injury fly to the groves, the ſuppoſed reſidence of the jannanins, and there pour out their complaints, and beſeech the jannanins either to aſſiſt in avenging them, or mediate with the Kanno. In all emergencies and difficulties they have recourſe to the ſame ſupport, as well as in all enquiries concerning future events. For inſtance, if no European veſſel arrives upon the coaſt (for this affects them as much it does the maritime Negroes) they interrogate the jannanins about the cauſe of their ſtay, when they will arrive, and whether they are richly laden? In a word, their veneration for the ſpirits of the deceaſed is extreme; they neither eat nor drink without firſt taſting in honour of the jannanin. The king himſelf is as much addicted to this ſuperſtition as the meaneſt ſubject, and the whole nation harbours the deepeſt veneration for the Kanno; though the jannanins alone are publicly worſhipped. Every village has a ſacred grove ſet apart for their worſhip; to which, at certain ſeaſons of the year, great quantities of proviſions are brought. Here it is that perſons labouring under any affliction implore the aid of the jannanins; but women, children, and ſlaves are prohibited to enter; a treſpaſs of this nature paſſing for the moſt abominable ſacrilege, which they ſuppoſe will immediately be puniſhed by the ſpirits in a manner the moſt exemplary and tragical [c].

Nor do the Quojans believe leſs firmly in the magicians and ſorcerers than in ſpirits. Theſe they imagine to be inveterate enemies to mankind, poiſoners and ſuckers of human blood; for which reaſon they call them ſava maniſin, which expreſſes their malicious nature. They alſo believe in the reality of other enchanters, whom they ſtyle billis; theſe they are perſuaded have a power over the ſeaſons, and can forward, or entirely ſtop the growth of rice. Thoſe who indulge melancholy, and leave ſociety from ſome ſudden fit of deſpair, are taught, they imagine, by the ſava, or *devil*, the qualities of herbs and roots poſſeſſed of enchanting virtues: from this malignant ſpirit they learn certain incantations, geſticulations, grimaces,

[c] Prevoſt's Collect. tom. v. livre 9. chap. 1. etiam tom. iv. ad fin.

and

and the power of hurting mankind imperceptibly. Death is the infallible punishment of such as are accused of this diabolical art; and the smallest suspicion of living in a manner different from other people, is admitted as proof and clear evidence.

Among the Negroes of the interior kingdoms of Sierra Leona, it is usual, upon suspicion of a violent death, first to wash the body before it is examined: they then begin their inquest, by making a bundle of shreds of the deceased's cloaths, the paring of his nails, and locks of his hair, sprinkling it with powder of mammon, or pulverized corn. The bundle is tied to the bier, which is carried by two Negroes to the most public part of the town, while the two priests, who precede it, strike their hatchets, which they hold in their hands, against each other, interrogating the corpse, where, when, and in what manner it was deprived of life. After the spirit of the deceased, or jannanin, has, by certain movements, imperceptible but to priestly eyes, discovered, that to the sava manifin he owed his death, the priest then enquires, whether the sorcerer be male or female? This question being answered by the same invisible signs, which those pious rascals interpret as their spleen, hatred, passion, or interest direct, they repair immediately to the house of the sorcerer, seize him, bind him, and drag him before the corpse, to be condemned upon the accusation of the spirit. If he denies the charge, the quoni, or *bitter draught*, is administered; and if, after drinking three large cupfulls, he vomits, he is acquitted; but if only a froth appears at his mouth, he is delivered to punishment upon the spot; his body is burnt, and the ashes are thrown into the river; from which fate neither his power nor his wealth can save him, there being no distinction of ranks, or mitigation of the law by favour in cases of sorcery.

Although no author affirms that the natives of these countries worship the sun or moon, yet it is customary to have a holiday and recess from labour on the approach of the new moon. This custom is chiefly observed in country villages, and strangers are rigidly prohibited from mixing themselves with the people during the celebration of these orgies. The reason they assign for this practice is still more ridiculous than the custom itself: they say, that the first day of the moon being a bloody day, their rice would change to a red colour, were they to neglect these ceremonies. Barbot relates two other superstitious ceremonies, no less absurd than the former, and equally ob-

Of seminaries for the instruction of youth.

served by the Negroes of Folgia, Hondo, Monou, Gebbe, Sestos, Bolm, and Silm [d]. In all those places there is established a society or sect called belli, which is properly a school or seminary for the education of children, renewable every twenty-fifth year, by order of the king, who is visitor or superior of the college. Here the young men learn to dance, fight, fish, hunt, and above all, to chant a certain hymn, which, in the language of the college, they call bellidong, or *the praises of belli.* These songs consist only of a repetition of the same lewd expressions, enforced by the most indecent and lascivious postures. When a young Negro becomes an adept, and perfectly instructed in his lesson, then he is raised to the rank of an associate or fellow of the college, which renders him qualified for all employments, spiritual and temporal, and entitles him to a number of important privileges: but the quolgas, or *dunces,* who have either not been admitted into the society, or were incapable of instruction, are by an established law excluded from all public offices, and places of trust and profit; an example we should gladly see followed in our own country.

The seat of this instructive foundation is chosen in a thick wood of palm-trees, including a compass of nine or ten miles, in which they build huts, and clear plantations, for the support of the scholars. When persons of fortune send their children to this seminary, proclamation is made, strictly forbidding all females to approach the sacred grove, during the whole course of their education, which takes up the term of five years; and, to render this prohibition the more effectual, girls are taught from their infancy to believe, that, if they violate so sacred a law, the bellis will destroy them with the most excruciating torments.

The saggonas, who are the elders of this sect, have the royal commission to preside over this establishment; and immediately upon entering their offices, declare publicly to their pupils the laws and regulations of the community, with the penalties annexed to their violation. The first law is a rigid prohibition from passing the bounds of the college, or conversing but with the students, during the course of their exercises; and as these are known by peculiar marks upon their bodies, no excuse is admitted in palliation of the offence. This mark is made extremely visible, being no other than cicatrices raised from the ear

[d] Barbot, p. 98.

to

to the ſhoulder, by ignited iron inſtruments; a painful operation, which all ſtudents are forced to undergo, before they are duly matriculated; after which they have a new name impoſed, as if by entering this ſchool of wiſdom they became regenerated. During their reſidence in this laborious retreat they go entirely naked, are fed by their ſaggonas, or tutors, and preſents are frequently brought by their friends and relations, who are notwithſtanding denied the privilege of converſing with them. On the day appointed for finiſhing their ſtudies, they are conducted to a little town, built on purpoſe by the king, at ſome diſtance from the frontiers of Minerva's ſchool, where they receive the viſits of their relations of both ſexes. Here are all the conveniences for bathing, anointing, and performing the other exerciſes of the ſociety: but their retreat, like European colleges, is ſo far from poliſhing their manners, that they quit it the rudeſt and moſt learned of the people.

After a few days are beſtowed by their parents in fitting them to the manners of the world, and refining their exteriors, they are preſented with cloaths, and the dreſs of the nation, their necks being adorned with glaſs beads and leopards teeth, as a diſtinction of their ſuperior education, their legs charged with copper rings and bells, and their head covered with a cap of oſier, which falls down over the brow. With theſe marks of wiſdom, and a paan, adorned with plumes of feathers, they are conducted publicly to the king's palace, where they are ranged in order, amidſt ſurrounding crowds of ſpectators, eſpecially women, who flock from all quarters to gratify their curioſity. The firſt thing done by the young ſtudents is, to uncover their heads, and let their hair down looſe about their ears, a ceremony which we imagine muſt prove a little difficult to a woolly head: this they do with great ſolemnity, to afford the ſpectators an opportunity of examining their figure, and afterwards repeat, one after another, the hymn and dance taught them at college for the occaſion. Thoſe who do not acquit themſelves adroitly are rallied on all hands by the women, who cry out, that they have waſted their time in eating rice—fruges conſumere nati. The dance being finiſhed, each ſaggona calls his own pupil, and delivers him over to his parents, acquainting them with the name he had given him upon entering the college.

As to the belli, ſo highly revered among Negroes, that has beſtowed its name on this ſect, it is a creature formed

by the hands of the high-priest from the bellimo, being sometimes of one figure, sometimes of another, just as caprice and accident determine. It is inconceivable the impression this substance makes upon the minds of the Negroes, who hold it as sacred, and believe that the most terrible judgment will fall upon whoever is wanting in the most profound veneration to the bellimo; yet they imagine, that the belli must derive his authority from the king, without which he has no power of punishment; so that even superstition itself is here dependent on civil policy, and the most unruly passion of the mind reduced to the standard of government. It is, upon the whole, no more than a cheat, invented by the king and the priesthood, to retain the people within the bounds of their duty: they have been for ages taught to regard the bellimo as an unfathomable mystery, and this doctrine being implanted in their infancy, takes root, and acquires proportionable strength as they grow up: the whole intention being simply this, to subject the people to the priesthood, and them again to the throne.

The school for young ladies.

The other society we mentioned is a female institution, which had its first rise in the kingdom of Goulla. At a time appointed by the king, a number of little huts are built in the middle of a remote wood, for the reception of girls and young women, who choose to be initiated in the mysteries of the society. The sisterhood is distinguished by the appellation of Sandi-simodisino, or *the daughters of Sandi.* When the society first meet, the soguilli, an ancient matron of distinction, expressly commissioned by the king to preside over this nunnery, enters upon the office with a festival and entertainment which she gives to the young ladies her scholars, called Sandi-lati. She exhorts them to a compliance with the laws of the sisterhood, to a perfect harmony among themselves, and labours to reconcile them to this short recess of four months from the world. Upon this they shave their heads, throw off their cloaths, and remain naked during their abode in this seminary of virtue. They are carried to a rivulet within the precincts of the abbey, if we may so call it, where they are washed, anointed, and circumcised, by cutting off the clitoris, an operation extremely painful, but soon over, and easily healed. Their studies consist in learning to dance, and sing those verses called sandi, which are equally indecent, both in the words and postures, with those taught the boys in the male college. They are denied the visits of all men; and even

even the women who enter the bounds are firſt ſtripped naked. When the term of their noviciate is expired, the parents ſend them pieces of ſcarlet cloth, glaſs necklaces, copper rings, and bracelets, with other female ornaments, which they ſnatch greedily. Thus equipped, they range themſelves in order, and march to the royal palace, preceded by the matron; the inhabitants of whole provinces aſſembling to behold them. The lady abbeſs alone ſits idle, while the girls friſk it away, dance and ſing merrily to the ſound of a tabor; after which they are remitted to their ſeveral families, with applauſes proportioned to their merit, and the proficiency they have made.

Before we cloſe our account of the manners of theſe nations, we ſhall obſerve, that if the Quojans maintain their authority over the extenſive and potent kingdoms of Silm, Bolm, &c. it is by the ſame wiſe policy by which the emperor of Monou preſerves his power over the Folgians, Quojans, and all that country from Rio Seſtos to this of Sierra Leona. Their councils are compoſed of the oldeſt, wiſeſt, and moſt experienced men of the nation; their government is mild, and the diſtribution of juſtice ſimple and equitable. To impreſs a high opinion of their power, they never permit the northern nations to traverſe their country in their way to the eaſtern parts, nor thoſe of the eaſt in their journey to the weſt. This rule, invariably adhered to, engroſſes to them the chief ſhare of all the commerce with the coaſts; they maintain factors, agents, and even ambaſſadors at neighbouring courts, to tranſact the affairs of trade, and, in a word, conduct a regular ſyſtem of policy and commerce through every part of the conſtitution, which is as wiſely modelled as prudently managed.

The policy and government of the Quojans.

Although the Quojans are dependent and tributary to the Folgians, yet that prince gives the king of Quoja the name of dandaghs, the ſame which he himſelf has from the emperor of Monou; and the king of Quoja permits it in his turn to the monarchs of Silm and Bolm, who pay him juſt the ſame ſubmiſſion that his ſuperior exacts. The title of dandagh is conferred with ſome very magnificent ceremonies. When the king of Quoja is inſtalled by the king of Folgia, he proſtrates himſelf on the ground, in which ſituation he remains till the other monarch has ſprinkled a handful of earth all over his body, and aſked him what title he chooſes to bear. When he has made his anſwer, it is proclaimed by a herald, in a loud voice,

repeated by the king of Folgia, and echoed by the joyful and numerous assembly of spectators. The new dandagh is then desired to rise, and the king of Folgia, with his own hands, invests him with the sword of state, a quiver upon his left shoulder, a bow in one hand, and arrows in the other; signifying by these different implements, the obligation he is under of defending, with all his might, the dominions with which he is entrusted. The ceremony is concluded by his doing homage to his superior, in making him some presents of cloth, kitchen-utensils, and table-furniture.

Their dandaghs.

The dandaghs are absolute within their dominions, and jealous to an extreme of their prerogative; which, however, they only defend against the encroachments of the people, while they never scruple submission to a superior dandagh. A great part of his state consists in the number of his women, brought to him from distant countries. When he appears in public, he is seated, leaning upon a shield, which his subjects call koreda, importing, that he is the defender of his domains, the leader of his armies, and the protector of his own people, and also of all oppressed nations. If any lord, accused of mal-administration, is slow in appearing to answer to the charge against him, the dandagh sends his koreda, accompanied by two drummers, who never cease beating at the offender's door till he consents to make his submission, and go along with them. If he be admitted to an audience of the dandagh, he prostrates himself on the ground, covers his head with dust, asks pardon for his fault, with the most humble respect, and acknowleges himself unworthy of the protection of the koreda, or of the countenance of so just a prince.

Forms of an audience.

When a subject demands an audience of the dandagh, he begins by making presents to the chief women of the seraglio, who carry them to the prince, and solicit that he will graciously permit such a nobleman to enter his presence, and prostrate himself before him. If his majesty consents, the presents are accepted, and the visiter introduced; otherwise they are returned with all possible tenderness and gentility, and the petitioner retires without presuming again to approach the palace till he has made his peace with the king; nor is this a matter of difficulty in slight offences; the delinquent is introduced with the same ceremonies, he makes his submission, and meets with a kind reception; but majesty does not easily forget gross affronts or heinous trespasses. When the offender has obtained his pardon, and leave to approach the monarch,

monarch, he advances ſlowly towards him, with a profound reverence, and low inclination of his body; when he comes before the mat on which his majeſty is ſeated, he falls upon his knees, and kiſſes the king's hand, extended for that purpoſe, reſpectfully pronouncing the word dandagh; upon which the king calls out numadi, *I forgive you*, and orders him to ſit down upon a ſtool or mat, placed at a little diſtance, if he happens to be a perſon of high rank, or a foreigner, otherwiſe he ſtands all the while in his majeſty's preſence.

Ceremonies attending the arrival of a foreign ambaſſador.

When a foreign ambaſſador propoſes coming to court, he ſtops on the frontiers of the kingdom, and ſends a gentleman of his train with notice of his approach; upon which a nobleman is immediately diſpatched to welcome him, and in the mean while preparations are making for his reception. On the day appointed, he makes his public entry, attended by a great number of officers and guards, all dreſſed in the richeſt manner of their country, bows in their hands, and quivers well ſtocked with arrows flung over their ſhoulders. This proceſſion is made amidſt the ſound of warlike inſtruments, and thouſands of people ſkipping and dancing to the time of the muſic. On their arrival at the royal palace, the ambaſſador is received between two lines of the dandagh's body-guards, fully accoutred and new-clothed for the occaſion, along which he paſſes to the chamber of audience. If he happens to be ſent from the monarch of Folgia, then his attendants are permitted the vaſt privilege of dancing between the lines of the life-guards; but this honourable diſtinction is denied to all other nations by his Quojan majeſty. When the dance is finiſhed, the whole retinue enter the audience-chamber, and are allowed the honour of kiſſing the ground before the king; then they approach the ſimmora, *throne*, while the ambaſſador, turning his back upon the king, bends his bow, falls upon his knee, and by this menacing poſture, imitates his inclinations to defend his majeſty againſt all his enemies. While this ceremony laſts, his retinue ſing and dance to ſome ſongs compoſed in honour of the king, and the Quojans return the compliment, by reciting ſcraps of poetry in praiſe of the ambaſſador and his maſter. In this ceremony, which is called polo ſomnah, the moſt flattering and complimentary expreſſions are repeated ſo frequently, that the ear is fatigued with the repetition of the words, kemnee, bolle, machang, which is all that authors give us of their language, although they pretend to call it energetic and full.

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The mutual eulogies being ended, the ambaſſador ſends the principal perſon in his train to proſtrate himſelf before the king, his own character exempting him from that ſubmiſſion, and during this new ſcene the dances go on. All of a ſudden the ambaſſador commands ſilence, and begins to pronounce his harangue, which the royal interpreter explains word by word. If the diſcourſe relates to matters of ſtate, it is referred to the king's council, otherwiſe an immediate anſwer is given, and his excellency is conducted to the apartments provided for him: then the officers of the houſhold bring into the king's preſence the merchandize intended as preſents to the foreign miniſter, explaining each article, and the reaſons of their having made choice of it. At night, a number of ſervants flock to the houſe of the miniſter, to offer their aſſiſtance in providing neceſſaries, and rendering his ſituation commodious; and laſt of all the king's women, clothed in their richeſt habits, attend him with plates of rice, and the moſt delicate foods that the country affords; the king after ſupper ſending him large quantities of palm-wine, and preſents to his maſter, which conſiſt generally of large veſſels and diſhes of copper. We have dwelt the longer upon this ceremony, as it marks the politeneſs of thoſe untutored Negroes, and eſpecially the dignity annexed to the character and function of a king. We ſhall now proceed to a brief recital of the conqueſts of the powerful kingdoms of Karrow and Folgia [e].

The conqueſts and wars of the kingdoms of Karrow and Folgia.

While the former inhabited the banks of Rio Junco and Aguida, they were engaged in perpetual diſputes with their neighbours the Folgians, which at length terminated in an open rupture between the two nations. The Folgians being defeated in ſeveral battles, and greatly weakened by their loſſes, had recourſe to the art of a famous ſorcerer, called Jakelmo, who adviſed them to throw boiled fiſh, with their ſcales, into a tank or *pond*, belonging to the enemy. It was a tradition of very ancient date amongſt the Karrows, that their firſt anceſtor dropt down from heaven in one of theſe baths; they therefore made offerings to the pond, and the fiſh it contained; but being ſtrictly forbid by a law, almoſt as ancient as the tradition itſelf, to eat fiſh either boiled or with the ſcales, they believed the pond profaned by this act of the Folgians: diſſenſions and civil diſcord ſprung up among them. The Folgians ſeizing the opportunity, when every thing was in

[e] Vide auct citat.

confuſion,

confusion, and the enemy were weakened by their civil wars, attacked and defeated them, slew their king, and obliged his son with all his subjects to submit to their yoke; but the Folgians conceiving a great esteem for the bravery of the Karrows, treated them more upon the footing of allies, than of a conquered people. Flansire, the Folgian monarch, married Wavalla, sister to Flonikerri, the young king of Karrow, leaving his brother-in-law in possession of his ancient dominions.

About this time the Quabi, a people bordering on the Rio Sestos, attacked the Folgians, when Flonikerri, hastening to defend his ally, obtained a signal victory over the enemy, and returned home, after having made an absolute conquest of the country of Quabi. During this war, Medino emperor of Monou, to whom the Folgians were tributary, died, not without suspicion of poison; Manimassa his brother, accused of having been an accomplice in effecting his death, was forced to drink the quoni. He justified himself by taking the drench; but being odious to the nation, he could not obtain his right, nor establish himself on the throne of his brother; besides, the Monouans, not contented with the trial by quoni, determined to consult the sorcerers. Manimassa, incensed at this fresh indignity, after declaring that he was no longer able to support it, quitted the country, attended by the jannanins or spirits of some deceased friends, taking his route northward. Arriving in the kingdom of Gala, which was at that time without a king, he soon obtained such a degree of credit by his prudence, equanimity, and gentle disposition, that he was unanimously raised to the throne. However, the respect of this simple people was of such short duration, that Manimassa quitting the kingdom, went to the court of Folgia; he having formerly married the king's sister. Flansire warmly espoused his interest, and sent an army under the conduct of the brave Flonikerri, his ally and brother, who soon subdued the Galans, and firmly established Manimassa on the throne.

Fesia, the nephew of Flonikerri, talking to his uncle about the beauty of the country of Vey Benkoma, or Cape Monte, whither he had made a journey, raised a desire in the king to attempt its conquest. The nephew furnishing him with sufficient lights to judge that this would be a matter of no great difficulty, Flonikerri, whose soul was equally ambitious and great, consulted his brother-in-law, the Folgian monarch, upon the subject, and procured his consent, after warm debates in the council. He was soon

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at the head of an army, and joined by a body of Folgians, with whom he immediately began his march towards the south of Cape Monte and the village Tombi, conquering this, and with it the whole country, in the space of a few days. The vanquished appeared before him with their heads covered, and prostrated themselves before the conqueror, acknowleging his power, paying homage, and praying his clemency. Flonikerri granting them their lives and liberty, contented himself with erecting a monument of his conquest, and entered into an alliance with them, which was confirmed by the following extraordinary ceremony: the conquered taking the blood of a number of fowls, killed in their presence, sprinkled it on the earth between the two parties; then boiling the fowls, they eat the flesh all but the legs, which they gave to Flonikerri as a pledge of their fidelity, and to be shewn them upon all occasions, whenever they should appear deficient in their duty, or relax in their engagements.

Flonikerri's ambition being rather fired than gratified with the number of his conquests, meditated fresh projects, more extensive than any of the former: scarce had the people of Cape Mount begun to taste the sweets of their new alliance with the conqueror, when Miminiko, forgetting his father's obligations to Flonikerri, marched against him with a powerful army, assisted by the alliance of two potent nations, who began to dread the growing power of so ambitious a prince. Miminiko was the son of Manimassa, established on the throne of Galas by the bravery of Flonikerri; but now ambition, jealousy, and the dread of being eclipsed in glory by this hero, pushed him on to the ruin of his benefactor. His troops were so numerous, that the Karrowans gave way, Flonikerri alone maintaining his ground. This brave prince drew a circle with the point of his sword, within which he fell upon his knee, and vowed that there he would either conquer or die. His defence was long and obstinate, though supported but by a few of his guards, whom shame had brought back to their duty; but covered at length with arrows and darts, he failed in strength, though nothing abated in courage, and breathed out his last upon that spot, an eternal monument of his noble perseverance in that course of glory in which he had ever lived. His death was a spur to the courage of a nation accustomed to conquer; the Karrowans rallied, returned to the charge, and fought with such fury, that the enemy was soon discomfited, and

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forced to yield up the victory with prodigious ſlaughter, and the loſs of many thouſand priſoners.

Killimanzo, the brother of the gallant Flonikerri, ſucceeding him in command, improved the victory, attacked the enemy a ſecond time in their camp, defeated and purſued them to Pay Monu, which they left to be pillaged by the victorious Karrowans. At length advancing to Quoja Monu, on the banks of the river Maguiba, or Rio Novo, he received the ſubmiſſion and homage of the vanquiſhed army and nation. Thus the Karrowans, aſſiſted by the Folgians, extended their conqueſts over all the neighbouring ſtates, and rendered their nation famous and formidable through all the weſt of Guinea. Killimanzo had no ſooner received the homage of Mimininiko, than he made him his ally, and the inſtrument of freſh conqueſts. With him he marched towards the river Magualbari, or Gallinas, and ſubdued the Quilligas, retiring after ſo many glorious ſucceſſes to his palace at Tombi, where he died loaded with glory, but not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of his having been poiſoned.

His eldeſt ſon, called Flanſire, mounted the throne, under the tuition of his uncle Gemmah, by the father's ſide, who was charged with the adminiſtration during the minority of the young prince his nephew. Flanſire, inheriting the courage of his anceſtors, had ſcarcely attained the age of manhood, when he meditated ſchemes for enlarging his dominions by new conqueſts, which ſhould raiſe his glory, in proportion as they augmented his power. Putting himſelf at the head of his army, he paſſed the river Magualbari, and ſubdued all the nations weſt of it, as far as the river Sierra Leona, obliging them to receive the yoke, and granting a commiſſion to his uncle Gemmah, to reign over thoſe provinces. Another of his lieutenants he made governor of the countries upon the river Scherbro; this man's name was Selbore, and from him the river bears that name, though by corruption called Scherbro. Sitre, another officer of rank, was made viceroy of thoſe nations bordering on the river Magualbari; and having thus ſettled his conqueſts, Flanſire returned to his place at Tombi, where he lived long in peace and glory: but while he was thus enjoying his felicity, he received advice that his uncle was driven out of his dominions at Sierra Leona, by Dogo Falma, king of Dogo, in the country of Hondo, and forced to retreat to a ſtrong hold in the iſland of Banana. This inſult rouſed the warrior; he inſtantly gave orders to the nobles of the province of Bolm to aſſemble all the forces of the

the country, and rendezvous at a place where he appointed to meet them. Mean while he had private intelligence of a conspiracy formed against him by his brother, to which he gave so little attention, that, proceeding in his design, he committed the government of the kingdom in his absence to that very brother, taking with him his son Flambure, afterwards king of Quoja. This was a rash step; but he thought to gain the affections of his brother by his generosity, and the confidence he reposed in him, without reflecting that such is the malignity of some hearts, that heaping favours upon them is only adding fuel to their rancour, and nourishing those weeds of jealousy and envy, which can never be rooted out of the bosom in which they are indigenous, and the spontaneous growth. Flansire saw, that the levies of Bolm went on but slowly; and though he had discernment enough to discover the causes, yet a mistaken policy made him wink at them, and set out on his expedition, supported only by his courage, and a handful of troops. His first measure was to pass in canoes to the island of Banana, where he joined his uncle, and collected his scattered forces, with which he proceeded directly against Dogo Falma.

This man had been one of the most powerful lords of the kingdom of Hondo; but being discovered in an intrigue with one of the king's women, his majesty, instead of punishing him in the usual manner by a fine, banished him, after he had ordered his ears to be cut off. In this situation he remained some years, till the king's indignation subsided, and he had found means to make his peace; upon which he returned to court. Instead, however, of trying to regain his master's esteem by facts of submission and obedience, he more and more irritated him by fresh offences. One day he had the presumption to tell the king, that the punishment he had undergone having rendered him ridiculous and contemptible in the eyes of the court, he ought to insist that all persons guilty of the same crime should be punished in a similar manner; and that unless this was done, he had determined to proclaim the injustice done him on every high road and public place in the kingdom, and apply for redress to the jannanins and sorcerers. The king, struck with the boldness of Dogo Falma, and also with the justice of his complaint, referred the matter to his council, who gave it unanimously as their opinion, that one example ought not to be established into a law for all: however, in some measure to give satisfaction to Dogo Falma, the king gave him the command of an

an army, then marching to Sierra Leona. This was the enemy Flanſire had to oppoſe; a general, who found it neceſſary to wipe off by his glorious actions, the contempt into which the loſs of his ears brought him at court. After the arrival of Flanſire, the fortune of war hung long in ſuſpence; courage alone was unable to weigh down numbers; and yet that hero performed prodigies of valour. At laſt, finding there was no dependence on the arrival of the troops from Bolm, he found means to engage a few white men, probably Portugueſe, in his ſervice, and with them laid ſiege to the city of Falmaba. Having forced the gates, he began to fire the buildings, when Dogo Falma, who was within, finding no other reſource againſt the vigour of his enemy, reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight. Flanſire purſued, but was not able to overtake him, though his ſucceſſes had, however, gained him the title of Dogo Falma Jundo Mu, or, *the conqueror of Dogo Falma.*

After having reſtored his uncle to the throne, and ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, he haſtened to apply a remedy to ſome other diſorders that had ariſen, when advice arrived, that the repoſe of his dominions were diſturbed in his abſence by the revolt of his brother, who had uſurped his throne, raviſhed his women, and put to death his children; a rebellion that was immediately followed by the invaſion of the Gibbes Monou, a people inhabiting the country round Cape Meſurado. They had entered the countries of Cape Nunez and Donalla, burnt a number of villages, and carried off men, women, and children, into ſlavery. Flanſire now ſaw the weakneſs of his own policy, and the falſity of that opinion, that a corrupt heart could be changed by generoſity and kind uſage: he applied however with vigour to repair his error, and inſtead of ſinking under the weight of his misfortunes, ſeemed to be animated by them to a double exertion of all his faculties Marching to the river Magualbari, he there invoked the jannanins, that they would puniſh the guilty, and relieve the oppreſſed and innocent; but knowing alſo that human means were not to be neglected, he croſſed the river with his ſmall army, gave battle to his brother, and obtained a complete victory. The war, however, continued to rage, till the uſurper Guamana was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh by his nephew Flambure, the eldeſt ſon of Flanſire; upon which the rebels were diſheartened. Flanſire, though he had now the power to puniſh them as their infidelity merited, was generous enough to paſs over all their miſconduct, and grant them a free and full pardon.

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His affairs here being happily re-eſtabliſhed, he turned his victorious arms againſt the Gibbes; and though they were prepared to receive him, he defeated them, made a terrible carnage among them, and ravaged their country: but propoſing to himſelf only a happy tranquility as the fruits of ſo many victories, he retired to his palace at Tombi. Here he was hardly arrived, when Doga Falma re-entered his dominions, with a more potent army than he had ever commanded; and ravaged every place with the fury of a barbarian, irritated by his diſgrace. As he had now diſbanded his army, Flanſire was forced to take refuge in the iſland of Maſſa, in the river Plizago. His enemies believed his ruin infallible; and his friends, though they knew his prudence and courage, greatly dreaded the event. Dogo Falma was collecting canoes to tranſport his forces to the iſland, in order to ſurround Flanſire; and every thing was in ſuch a train as threatened his deſtruction; when unexpectedly one of Flanſire's generals, having got together a choice body of troops, fell upon the enemy's rear. The king no ſooner diſcovered this circumſtance from his retreat, than getting into ſome canoes he had on the iſland, he attacked the enemy in front. The battle was long and obſtinate; but courage at laſt triumphed over numbers. Dogo Falma was utterly defeated, his army diſperſed, the king relieved from his diſtreſs, and his faithful general rewarded according to his merit, and far beyond his expectations. In this manner were the interior countries of Sierra Leona conquered, by the bravery of the Karrowans and Folgians, who were themſelves tributary to the emperor of Monou; a ſet of princes ſuperior to each other, and forming a chain of dependencies not to be met with in any other country, or perhaps paralleled in hiſtory.

As to the natural productions of theſe kingdoms, they have nothing hardly in them peculiar, or that has been omitted in our deſcription of other nations. A ſpecies of porcupine is however deſcribed by naturaliſts, which we believe is found in no part of the globe but this. It is about the ſize of a large boar, armed on all ſides by long, ſharp quills or prickles, ſtreaked with black and white rays in a very beautiful manner. Theſe quills are ſo ſtrong, that they are proof againſt the moſt violent blow. In nothing beſides the ſize does it differ from thoſe commonly ſeen in Europe. In this country are likewiſe four kinds of eagles, all extremely ravenous and large; the firſt, the natives diſtinguiſh by the name of kequolantia; it perches and

and builds on the loftieſt trees in large foreſts, is a bird of prey, and feeds chiefly upon monkies, which it conveys whole and alive into the neſt. The next, which is called kequolantia klow, has this peculiarity, that it prefers fiſh to all other food, and lives upon the banks of rivers and lakes: the talons of this bird are extremely ſtrong and crooked. The others have nothing particular, only that the fourth called poy, delights in fiſhing for crabs, lobſters, and ſmall fiſh, which it devours with great voraciouſneſs. The ſea coaſts afford abundance of fiſh of an extraordinary kind; but they are not ſo minutely deſcribed as to give us a clear idea of them; and to retail the names given to them by the natives, would afford but an inſipid entertainment.

SECT. II

Hiſtory of the Kingdoms of Mandingo, Fouli, and Jaloff or Oualoff; with ſome Account of the Manners, Cuſtoms, Religion, &c. of the Natives; their Method of trafficking, as well among themſelves as European Nations.

Of the countries lying between Sierra Leona and the river Senegal.

FROM the river Sierra Leona to Senegal are an infinity of kingdoms, principalities, and petty ſtates, of which we know not even the names, voyagers having only related trivial circumſtances, which fell under their own obſervation, or ſuch occurrences as related merely to trade and the navigation of the river Gambia. With regard to the extent of dominions, the peculiar cuſtoms of different nations, their religion, policy, and laws, they are entirely ſilent; except a few particulars relative to the three great kingdoms of Mandingo, Fouli, and Jaloff, all of them interior countries. With reſpect to their preciſe frontiers, although their dominion, on account of their power, is in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed to the ſea coaſts, voyagers give us no ſatisfaction. That the reader may not entirely be left in the dark, we ſhall extract all that travellers agree in, concerning the three powerful kingdoms above mentioned, and begin our account with Mandingo, as the firſt in order.

All the numerous nations inhabiting the banks of the river Gambia, extending to Cape Verga, go by the general name of Mandingoes; and Jobſon ſays, that they exactly reſemble each other in complexion, features, and

language, as well as in their general manners and policy. He affirms, that they are all of a jet black colour; though Moore says, that in general they are so, as if however there were some exceptions. This kingdom is of vast extent, both along the coasts and into the interior countries, on the banks of the river Gambia; but geographers and voyagers differ so greatly in the limits they lay down, that its frontiers cannot be described with any degree of certainty. According to the same author, they are more sociable, rational, and humane, than they have been represented by other travellers; for, on all occasions he had to visit their towns, he met with the most cordial reception, the men running out to welcome his arrival by kissing his hands, though some women, who had never beheld a white man, fled at the sight of him, and could not be prevailed on to approach him. Some pressed him to enter their huts; entertained him in the best manner they were able; and produced their wives and daughters for him to salute; his complexion, habit, speech, and manners, all of them equally raising their astonishment and curiosity.

Kingdom of Mandingo.

The kingdom of Mandingo.

THE Mandingoes are in general a lively joyous people, who consume half their time in dancing, music, mirth, and good-humoured gaiety; yet being much addicted to company, warm and impetuous in their disposition, they fall into frequent quarrels, which commonly terminate in blood, and spoil the society of day, by the unhappy discord of the night. Nothing is more usual than challenges to single combat, upon any affront or injurious expression; but as their heat subsides almost as soon as kindled, they seldom come to deliberate blows; and all the accidents of that nature which arise, are generally the effects of sudden passion. However, when they do engage, nothing can be more furious than their transports, and the animosity with which they rush upon each other, with whatever weapons come in their way [f].

Necessity and self-preservation oblige them to sow and reap, but this labour does not last above two months in a year; the other months are spent in idleness and sloth all the day, and at night in dancing under the shade. A few childish diversions they have, which they perform with abundance

[f] Labat, tom. ii. p. 23. Idem, tom. iii. p. 147.

of

of addreſs; but every thing manly is neglected: fiſhing and hunting unknown, though no country affords better opportunities for both. Smoking tobacco is their whole pleaſure, which increaſes their natural ſloth, by deſtroying their appetite for food. It is of the growth of their country, and they ſmoke in wooden pipes, five or ſix feet in length, the bowl made of wood, hardened and dried in the fire, and finely poliſhed.

Moore ſays, that the nation of Mandingo, in points of honour, are jealous and delicate to an extreme; nor are they leſs poſſeſſed with that foible of almoſt all nations, pride of birth and anceſtry[g]. While the author was at Butto, on the river Gambia, he ſaw a diſpute of honour ariſe between Bo-John, a prince of the blood, and the ſon of the reigning monarch; each flew to arms, and their reſentment appeared ſo keen, that the ſpectators had the utmoſt difficulty to prevent fatal conſequences, and yet the whole contention was a matter of ſmall importance, and indeed, no other than a compariſon of their parentage. Though the combatants had been parted for the time, there was no preventing a formal challenge from paſſing, after which the author found it no hard matter to reconcile them, each looking upon this as a ſalvo of his honour. There was ſomething ridiculous in the manner of their reconciliation; for at the very time they were vowing a ſincere friendſhip, they alſo threatened to reſume the diſpute, as ſoon as fit occaſion offered; believing menaces were neceſſary to eſtabliſh an opinion of their courage in the by-ſtanders.

It is obſervable, that the characters of thoſe people inhabiting the interior parts of the river Gambia, are altered greatly for the better. Formerly, they were crafty and knaviſh, in the moſt trifling affairs: however, thoſe dirty practices are in a good meaſure aboliſhed, commerce with ſtrangers having ſhewn them the neceſſity of paying the ſtricteſt attention to their word, and being delicate in points that affect their credit.

Their mode of ſalutation is to ſhake hands; but if a man ſalutes a woman, he runs his noſe cloſe to her, as if to ſmell her, and falls back twice. It is the groſſeſt indignity to offer the left hand in ſalutations. When a man returns to his family after an abſence of two or three days, his women throw themſelves on their knees before him; and an omiſſion of this ceremony is deemed a heinous

g Moore, p. 36.

crime, and a proof of her little esteem for her lord and tyrant. Formerly, it was customary, when a woman offered her husband any thing to drink, that she first fell down on her knees and tasted it; whence voyagers deduce, that the practice of poisoning had been frequent in the country.

Writers assert, that nothing is more easy than to distinguish a native of Mandingo or Flup, from their extreme flat noses and thick lips, they being in this respect the ugliest of all Negroes in the eyes of an European, but in their own the handsomest. Janequin, however, in his journey to Libya, affirms, that those features are by no means natural to them, but the consequence of that custom of women suckling children over their shoulders, when they are employed in any other business [h]. Moore attributes it to the great care taken to form their features to that cast, nothing in their opinion being so beautiful as large nostrils, flat noses, thick lips, and among the women large, loose, and flabby breasts.

Immediately after a child is born, he is bathed in cold water three or four times a day, and after being carefully dried, anointed with palm-oil along the spine, elbows, hams, and neck. They go naked to the age of eight or ten, and frequently paint their faces and breasts for ornament. Sound health and fertility in marriage are the common qualities of almost all the Negroes of this country, it being equally difficult to find an infirm young man, and a barren woman; they are, however, subject to some very dangerous acute diseases, but few chronical, the small-pox, in particular, making great havock, and sweeping off incredible numbers every year. It must indeed be owned, that they are not wholly strangers to the king's-evil; worms, especially the Guinea-worm, which swells their legs to the size of their bodies; the yaws, and maladies of the head; but as these are not frequent, the people may in general be reckoned, perhaps, the most healthy in the universe. Besides the inflammation in their legs, arising from that species of worm almost peculiar to this country, they are sometimes subjected to swellings, arising from other causes, among which are reckoned certain herbs, which they mix with their food, to excite mutual love and affection among the men, and raise the passions between the sexes. To all their diseases, they apply no other remedies than grisgris, or fetiches; a su-

[h] Janequin, p. 93.

perstition

perſtition that extends even to their hair, and their bows which hang over their ſhoulders.

Every part of domeſtic oeconomy is left to the care of the women, while the men cultivate the ſmall quantities of rice wanted for the family, and paſs the reſt of their time in the indolent manner we have deſcribed. After laying up a quantity ſufficient for the conſumption of the family, the women have a right to diſpoſe of the reſt, but are accountable for the profits that ariſe to their huſbands. The ſame regulations take place in regard to their poultry, of which they breed a great number, theſe two articles being their principal ſupport, and the ſtaples of commerce, next to ſlaves. Many of the Mandingoes have a pride in keeping a crowd of ſlaves, whom they treat with ſuch gentle uſage, kindneſs, and humanity, that it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh the maſter from the ſlave; eſpecially the women, who wear necklaces, bracelets, and ear-rings of amber, coral, and ſilver, as if the men had purchaſed them only to become their huſbands. Moſt of theſe ſlaves are born in their families, and naturalized to them as their own children. In moſt other parts of Africa, the maſter has a right to ſell all ſlaves born in the family; but in Mandingo this action is treated as a crime; inſomuch, that if any of them are diſpoſed of without their conſent, and againſt the will of their fellow-ſlaves, they all abandon their maſter, and ſeek a retreat in ſome other kingdom: for though in this caſe he has no power to puniſh them, yet they reckon it diſhonourable to enter into the ſervice of another maſter in the ſame kingdom.

Kingdom of Fuili, Fouli, or Pholey.

THIS large country is divided from the kingdom of Jaloff, which we ſhall deſcribe in this ſection, by the lake called, in the language of the Mandingos, by the name Kayor. From this lake to the village of Embakane, on the frontiers of Galam, that is, from weſt to eaſt, it ſtretches about one hundred and eighty-ſeven miles, but its limits from ſouth to north, are not aſcertained; though travellers affirm, that it extends a great way ſouthward. The reaſon why the frontiers of all theſe kingdoms, bordering on the rivers Gambia and Senegal, are ſo inaccurately marked is, that the French and Engliſh, who were furniſhed with the beſt opportunities, made commerce the ſole object of their care, neglecting every thing that did not aſſiſt in promoting that chief end of all their labours.

The intereſt of their companies, as well as their own private concerns, engroſſed all the attention of the factors, and they gave no more of their time to the gratification of their curioſity and their paſſion for knowlege, than what was neceſſarily ſpent in the purſuit of riches. All then that we know with certainty of this powerful kingdom is, that its boundaries are of great extent, its lands fertile, its inhabitants numerous, and capable of rendering themſelves a rich and happy people, were their induſtry in any degree proportioned to the advantages of nature, by means of which they might drive a prodigious commerce with foreigners. Voyagers are not agreed upon the etymology of the name Fouli, nor is their language ſufficiently known to afford room for ſuch an enquiry. They are in general of a tawny complexion, though many are of as fine a black as the Mandingoes. It is ſuppoſed that their alliances with the Moors have given them that mixed colour, between the true olive and the black. Their ſtature is rather low, but their gait comely, and their ſhape eaſy and genteel, with an air peculiarly delicate and taking. However indolent they may be in puſhing all the trade the country is capable of ſupporting, they are by no means ſo in private induſtry, which they cultivate with as much as aſſiduity as other Negroes. They are diligent farmers and graziers, and raiſe millet, rice, tobacco, cotton, peaſe, roots, and fruits, with abundance of care; nor are they leſs expert in rearing cattle, in which conſiſts a great part of their traffick with the neighbouring countries. Their mutton is ſweet and delicate, their beef fat, and their goats the beſt which are to be met with almoſt in any part of Africa; and hence it is, that their markets are better ſtocked, and their kitchens ſupplied with the moſt luxurious plenty of any Negro people, unleſs we except the Whidans. The Foulis are fond of hunting, and extremly ſkilful and eager in the chace. The elephant is the object of their diverſion, of which they are never diſappointed, as the country is filled with theſe animals. The ſword and dart they manage with great dexterity againſt him; and ſuch as have been taught the uſe of fire arms by the French, have applied them to great advantage, both in hunting and in battle. Their diſpoſition is lively, and their manners polite. Fond they are to exceſs of European commodities; but as they are much addicted to pilfering, they prefer gaining poſſeſſion of them by ſtealth, to a regular and fair commerce. They love muſic ſo much, that their princes reckon it an accompliſhment to be able to touch an inſtrument

ſtrument with a genteel air; while their neighbours of Jaloff condemn muſic as an effeminate ſoft exerciſe, that degrades the character of a man. Their muſical inſtruments are various, and their compoſitions tolerably melodious, tender, and pleaſing; and as dancing is almoſt a natural conſequence of their love of muſic, their paſſion for it is ſuch, that they will dance three or four hours after the hardeſt labour, by way of relaxation [1].

The women are low, but well ſhaped and handſome: their features are delicate, the air of their face ſweet, and the ſymmetry regular. Their hair, which is long, like the Moors, is of a ſhining jet, ſoft and thick, nor are they at all negligent of it; the dreſſing it in different faſhions conſtitutes their chief labour, next to dancing and muſic, which the females of this country carry to a pitch of extravagance. They are paſſionately fond of French cottons and morees, of which they make long flowing robes, extremely becoming. The women, according to Labat, fall into fits of ſpleen, and are ſeized with the vapours, whenever their huſbands refuſe to gratify their paſſion for dreſs; and this he makes uſe of as an argument of the power the women have over the men, and the facility with which they introduce any faſhion that would ſet off their charms.

The account which Jobſon gives of this people is ſomewhat different. This traveller affirms, that the women are tall and handſome in face and perſon; but that the men are not proportionably large or agreeable. As their chief wealth conſiſts in their cattle, they lead a wandering life, and roam about from field to field, from country to country, with large droves of cows, ſheep, goats, and horſes; for although they have ſome fixed habitations, yet they uſe them but little, removing as the dry or wet ſeaſons require, from the low to the high lands, reſiding in no one place longer than the paſture for their cattle will admit of. This hard laborious life is greatly increaſed by the continual neceſſity they are under of defending themſelves and their cattle againſt the depredations of thoſe fierce animals, with which the country abounds, lions, tigers, and elephants, aſſaulting them from the land, and crocodiles from the rivers. At night they collect their flocks within a circle of tents and huts, in which they live, and where they light large fires to terrify thoſe animals from approaching them.

[1] Auct. citat. ibid.

In their peregrinations through the kingdom, this people carry on a trade with other commodities besides their cattle; for they sell milk, cheese, butter, all of them good in their kinds: and these they carry in baskets and gourds, so neat and clean, as would do credit to the most refined dairy in Europe. The women have the sole care of this traffick, and they exchange their goods for those trinkets on which all Negroes put so high a value, glass beads, bits of coral, and little knives; but salt is the commodity they prefer to all others, which they call ramdam.

The Mandingoes have erected a kind of tyranny in Fouli, and by virtue of it seize upon the wealth of the kingdom. Their power arose not from conquest, but from constant migrations into this from their own country, a few coming at a time, not probably with any view of one day becoming masters of the kingdom; but from motives of private conveniency and choice. But finding their numbers so considerable, they were induced to usurp that superiority their strength could maintain over the natives and lawful possessors. Moore says, that in every province you will meet with troops of Mandingoes, who greatly resemble the Arabians in some of their manners and language, which, like the Latin in Europe, is become the learned language of all the schools on this coast of Africa. Almost all the Pholeys, as Moore calls the Foulis, speak it, though they have a proper language of their own.

The king of this country is called a siratick, and though he seldom appears with the badges of majesty, he is a prince of great authority over his subjects, and as much respected by his neighbours as any on the coast; yet does he govern with so much moderation and gentleness, that all his decisions seem to be those of the people assembled in a body, rather than of a single person. Among his vassals, the siratick of Fouli reckons the king, the great brak, and all the lords and nobles of Haval, who pay him every fourth year a tribute of forty-three slaves, and a certain number of cattle. His army is no less strong in cavalry than in infantry; for the Moors, his neighbours, furnish him with as many horses as he pleases. The arms used by his troops are bows and sabres, and his nobility are dispersed among the provinces to execute the various military and civil offices, that become their station and circumstances in life. The employment next in rank to that of siratick, is that of lieutenant-governor, who is looked upon as the representative of his majesty's person, and attended by a court little inferior to royalty itself.

Chief officers of state in Fouli.

Although

Although none but princes of the blood can be called to the throne, yet the crown defcends not from father to fon, but from brother to brother, or nephew to nephew; that is, if the king have no brother, his rights defcend to his nephew by his full fifter, or in preference to the fon of his mother's daughter only, as the blood royal is moft affuredly untainted in the female line. With regard to the children of the king, their blood is always dubious, as the king's women generally indulge themfelves in acts of gallantry and intrigue: nor is it thought very fafe to rely on their word, fince the methods anciently ufed to oblige them to a true confeffion are now abolifhed. The only inftance in which the king's fons pretend to the throne, is when they have married a princefs of the blood, becaufe in that cafe the blood is fure upon one fide at leaft; and if by any accident they fail of fucceeding in their own perfons, the right of their children is however indifputable, and always admitted [k]. But without regard to thefe cuftoms, the firatick firé, who reigned towards the clofe of the laft century, endeavoured, from a natural affection for their children, to raife them to the throne, and with that view he invefted the eldeft with the dignity of kamalingo, a poft always filled by the prefumptive heir. The prince of Sambaboa was at that time poffeffed of the office, but depofed, to make room for his coufin, the firatick's fon, notwithftanding his amiable qualities had attracted the efteem and engaged the affections of the nobility and people, who had long with pleafure beheld him as the heir apparent. He was the king's nephew, handfome in his perfon, eafy in his addrefs, of noble fentiments, liberal and generous in his difpofition, and of approved courage, which he had often fignalized againft the enemies of his country. Such was the perfon removed to make way for the young firatick; a circumftance that gives us a mean idea of the old king's policy, though we cannot blame his preferring the intereft of a fon to that of a nephew, had the latter been poffeffed of lefs amiable qualities. The old firatick intended to have confined his nephew; but, penetrating into the king's intentions, he withdrew from court under a ftrong guard; and although he had nothing to fear from the Negroes, who were to a man ftrongly attached to him, yet knowing that his uncle had drawn over the Moors to his views, he retired to the frontiers to avoid involving the nation in a civil war, and bringing thofe ca-

Hiftory of the prince of Sambaboa.

[k] Barbot, ibid. Le Maire, p. 85.

lamities

lamities upon the people, which they might avoid under the government of the worſt of princes. However, all his endeavours could not prevent numbers of the nobility from joining his fortune, and forſaking their country, rather than their affections and zeal for ſo eſteemed a prince; a ſeceſſion which the enraged ſiratick looking upon as a kind of rebellion, raiſed a numerous army to ſuppreſs. As the ſiratick with his army advanced, Sambaboa, who reſolved not to draw his ſword againſt an uncle to whom he had always given the name of father, continued to retire; but at laſt finding himſelf hard puſhed by this defenſive war, his faithful attendants, expoſed to all the calamities of fugitives and outlaws, and laſtly, that the command of the king's army was given to his rival, who had uſurped his dignity, he determined to come to action. His couſin, whoſe forces were greatly ſuperior, and better provided, did not at all decline the trial. A battle was fought, Sambaboa was victorious, and the ſiratick's ſon, with his potent Mooriſh army, totally defeated. The victor reflecting, however, upon the conſequences of a civil war, which muſt inevitably terminate in the ruin of the people, and in eſtabliſhing more firmly the power of the Moors, who were already poſſeſſed of the confidence of the monarch, took the noble reſolution of removing into ſome diſtant kingdom, and ſacrificing every ambitious view to the love of his country and uncle, who he deſired might die in peace; after which event, he thought he might recover the throne through the affections of the people, in ſpite of all the arts made uſe of to ſupplant him.

The old ſiratick, whoſe mind ſeems to have been enervated with age and bodily infirmities, fell all of a ſudden into the moſt auſtere fit of devotion, from a life not very ſtrict or ſcrupulous; and this made him commit the government of the realm into the hands of his ſon, while he ſpent his whole time among the marbuts, placed round him by the inſidious Moors, on purpoſe to detach his attention from worldly affairs.

The baniſhment of Sambaboa continued for the ſpace of thirty years, part of which time he lived upon the frontiers of Fouli, perpetually in arms to defend himſelf againſt the attacks of the Moors, and the artifices of the young ſiratick. At length he demanded protection of the king of Galam, and a ſafe retreat in his dominions; which that prince readily granted, though at firſt, hearing only of his valour, he was greatly embarraſſed how to conduct himſelf

himſelf in ſo delicate a ſituation, fearing on the one hand to offend ſuch a hero, or to violate the rights of hoſpitality, and on the other, to admit ſo dangerous a prince into the bowels of his kingdom. Being acquainted with the cauſe of his baniſhment, the juſtice, the piety, and the valour of this unfortunate prince, he ſent a great body of his nobility to conduct him into his dominions, aſſigned lands for his ſupport, officers for his houſhold, and treated him in every reſpect with thoſe honours due to his rank and character: a conduct of which he had never reaſon to repent, as the fugitive prince ever repaid it with the utmoſt fidelity, attachment, and gratitude. In this ſituation he lived many years, adored by the king of Galam, beloved by the nobility, and the idol of the people, who wanted nothing ſo much as to raiſe him to a throne, to which he formed no pretenſions: ſuch, however, was his prudence and moderation, that the wiſhes of the people excited no jealouſy either in the old king of Galam, or the prince his ſucceſſor; they too well knew the equity of Sambaboa, and the inclination of the Foulians, to apprehend a rivalſhip. In the year 1702, as he was beginning to ſink under age and misfortunes, his uncle died, his couſin was depoſed, and Sambaboa called by the unanimous voice of the people to fill that throne from which he was ſo long baniſhed, and reign over that people who always loved him.

He began his reign by expelling the Moors, who had cauſed ſo many misfortunes to the nation; fortifying ſeveral provinces that lay expoſed to the inſults of the neighbouring ſtates, and reforming all thoſe abuſes which had crept into the adminiſtration during the indolent and weak reign of his uncle. His wiſe deſign was to render his people happy, and himſelf ſecure, by the felicity he communicated to them; but he was cut off in the midſt of all thoſe joyous proſpects by a ſudden death, which De Brue ſcruples not to attribute to poiſon, and the artifices of the Mooriſh prieſts, and the depoſed prince, ſon to the late king. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Samba Donde, who ſoon after fell in battle, by the hands of his own brother, Bubaka Siré, raiſed upon this event to the crown; an uſurpation of which he was in a ſhort time deprived by Ghelonghaya, a perſon he had elevated from a low ſtation to the high rank of kamalingo[1].

[1] Auct. citat. in locis citat.

The

Character of the Foulians.

The people of Fouli are celebrated by travellers as an extreme hospitable nation; all persons, without distinction of country being freely admitted into their huts, and treated with the best accommodations they can afford: nor is their humanity in any other particular less commendable; for as soon as any of them has the misfortune to fall into slavery, all the rest join stock to redeem him. Moore says, that quarrels are so rare among them, that his long stay afforded but one instance where a Foulian was insulted by another; a character which proceeds not from their tameness or want of courage, for there is not in all Africa a braver people, or men who know better how to resent an injury [m]. According to Moore, their arms are composed of bows and arrows, lances, swords, daggers, and occasionally a kind of small fusee, all of which they use with great dexterity, and an address superior to most Negro nations, particularly in hunting, a diversion in great esteem among them. Elephants, lions, tygers, and the fiercest animals, are the game they pursue. Twenty or thirty of them, some on foot, some on horseback, follow the chace, and seldom return but laden with the spoils of some of these desperate enemies. The elephants teeth, the lions, leopards, and tigers skins they sell, and the flesh is smoaked and dried for use and winter store. In such numbers are the elephants bred here, that they are seen in droves of two hundred together, plucking up the small trees, and destroying whole fields of corn with their terrible trunks; pleasure therefore alone is not the object of their hunting, but necessity and self-preservation.

Dress of the Foulians.

As to the dress of the Foulians, it is as peculiar to themselves as some of their customs; but it would be difficult to convey an idea of it in words. Sufficient it is, that it is composed of white cotton cloths, agreeably folded round their waists, all of the manufacture of the country, nothing else being permitted to be worn there; a prudent institution, that greatly promotes trade and industry, and first set on foot by their wise prince the firatick Sambaboa. This is all we know of this people, except their religion, which they have in common with the Jaloffs, Mandingoes, and other inhabitants of the rivers Gambia and Senegal, and which we shall describe under one general head.

[m] Moore, p. 98.

Of

Of the Customs and Manners of the Jaloffs, or properly Oualoffs.

Geographical description of Mandingo, Fouli, and Oualoff, or Jaloffe.

BEFORE we come to ſpeak particularly of this potent nation, it may not be improper that we lay down, as minutely as our authorities will permit, the preciſe ſituation of the Mandigans, Foulis, and Jaloffs, as thoſe are the three great ſtates to which all the others are tributary, and, in a meaſure, dependent. The laſt mentioned nation is by much the moſt powerful, though perhaps the leaſt extended in territory. The Foulis inhabit the interior country on both ſides the river Senegal, ſtretching from north to eaſt; the Jaloffs ſtand ſouth of them, and extend weſtward along the ocean, poſſeſſing all that tract of country acroſs Cape Verd, from the river Senegal to Gambia; and the Mandingoes lie ſouth and eaſt of the Jaloffs, occupying both ſides of the river Gambia from its ſource perhaps to the ocean. No hiſtorians pretend to mark the preciſe limits of either of theſe nations; and we are only able to ſpeak in general terms, and rather from conjecture, than actual menſuration or poſitive authority; for though the navigation of theſe rivers is well known, yet no Europeans have penetrated far enough into the country on each ſide to give us an accurate geography, much leſs a topography, of which we are entirely ignorant.

Character of the Jaloffs, or Oualoffs.

The Jaloffs, Jalloiffs, or, according to ſome writers, Ghialoffs, or Oualoffs, inhabit, by Moore's deſcription, the north ſide of the river Gambia, ſtretching a great way into the interior country, and likewiſe to the river Senegal; ſo that they, and a part of the country of the Foulis border upon each other [n]. They are of an exceeding black and more beautiful complexion than moſt of the ſurrounding nations, nor have they, like the Mandingoes, flat noſes or thick lips, the characteriſtics or diſtinguiſhing marks of almoſt all genuine Negroes. Moore aſſures us, that he had ſeen numbers of this nation, all of whom had a ſmooth black ſkin, and fine regular features. Barbot, ſpeaking in general of the Negroes on the banks of the rivers Gambia and Senegal, and the intermediate coaſt, ſays, that they are of a beautiful black complexion, ſtrait, well made, active, and robuſt; that their teeth are

[n] Moore, p. 30.

ſmall,

ſmall, white, and regular, their noſe rather flat, and lips thick, but not in that extreme obſervable in almoſt all other Negroes [b]. From theſe deſcriptions one may conclude, that the Jaloffs are diſtinct from the other natives, as well in features as in cuſtoms, laws, and manners. No author beſides Moore ſeems to have diſtinguiſhed the native Jaloffs from an infinity of other nations intermixed with them; and this ſeems to be the cauſe of that diverſity of deſcriptions we meet with. What ſeems to confirm the truth of Moore's relation is, the acknowlegement of all writers, that the notions of beauty the Jaloffs entertain, are much the ſame with thoſe of the French; they admire a ſmall well proportioned noſe, little mouth, thin lips, with a gentle pouting in the under lip, and lively eyes; for it is ſeldom that a people does not fix the ſtandard of beauty among themſelves, and judge by that ſymmetry of features the moſt familiar to them.

Authors differ no leſs with reſpect to the qualities of the mind than thoſe of the body. Moore admits that their diſpoſition is in general warlike; but aſſerts that they are good-natured, generous, and hoſpitable; whereas Barbot paints them as the moſt treacherous, laſcivious, and villainous people upon the face of the globe. They are, ſays that writer, debauched, lazy, impudent, cowardly, vindictive, haughty, vain, and much addicted to theft and lying. They equally indulge in eating, drinking, venery, and every other kind of intemperance; nor will they ſtumble at any means to gratify thoſe deſires: friendſhip, honour, oaths, and religion, are all ſet at nought, wherever their paſſions ſtand in the way; and that their treachery in trade cannot be paralleled. The inhabitants of the towns of Joalli, Portodali, and Yaca, are the greateſt thieves in nature, eſpecially the latter, who have the addreſs to ſteal from the Europeans while they are ſmiling in their faces, without being perceived. Barbot has ſeen them make uſe of their feet in theſe employments, while their hands have been buſied in ſome obliging office. But we muſt obſerve, that our author ſpeaks here of the natives of the coaſt. Labat makes much the ſame remark on the Jaloffs towards Senegal. It is not upon their hands only, ſays that writer, that you muſt muſt fix your eyes if you would prevent their fraud, but on their feet likewiſe; for, from a habit of going barefoot, they acquire the ſame dexterity in thoſe parts as Europeans have

[b] Barbot, p. 34.

in

in their hands, and will even pick up a pin with their toes off the ground. If one of them chances to ſee a knife, ſciſſars, or toy that attracts their inclinations, he will turn his back upon it, engage you in converſation, and ſlily ſeize it between his toes, with which he has the art of throwing it into a kind of pouch which he wears behind. Nor do they deal much more honeſtly with their countrymen of the inland parts, to whom they give the name of ſimple mountaineers; for when theſe come to trade to the coaſts, the maritime Negroes immediately offer their ſervice in carrying their goods, which they ſeldom quit before they have ſtole half, while the owner ſtands amazed, not knowing by what enchantment and conjuration he ſhould be ſo great a loſer, while his eyes are kept conſtantly fixed on his property [p].

But they go ſtill greater lengths, and where addreſs fails, they ſcruple not to have recourſe to force, aſſaſſination, and the moſt cruel murders. To ſuch a degree of barbarity do they carry their avaritious diſpoſition, that many of them ſell their fathers, mothers, children, and neighbours, of which practice Barbot gives a great number of inſtances.

We are told by the ſame authors that the Jaloffs are much addicted to magic and ſorcery, which they exerciſe by means of the grand ſorcerer's miniſters, the prieſts; who, they believe, have a power over ſerpents and monſters. Walla Filla, king of Jaala, a province of Jaloff, paſſed for the greateſt conjurer of his time, and was reckoned the moſt expert poiſoner in the whole country. They have not the leaſt idea of gratitude, nor the ſmalleſt notion of returning kindneſs by reciprocal good offices; all their actions ariſe from ſome mean, ſelfiſh view, and indirectly to gratify ſome brutal appetite; nay, their ignorance is ſo groſs, that it would be difficult to make them comprehend how two and two make four. So total is this ſtupidity, that they know not their own age, or the day of the week, for which they even have no names; and indeed the only virtue of which they are poſſeſſed is hoſpitality, if it be a virtue in them, who invite a ſtranger to their houſes only that they may gain by him [q].

Barbot, ſpeaking of the Jaloff princes round Senegal, compares them to the worſt of the Mandians, another nation he has celebrated for their vices; but they join

p Le Maire, p. 125. Labat. Moore & Barbot, ubi ſupra. q Labat, Afric. Occid. tom. ii. p. 170.

cunning

cunning to their impudence. They begin a bargain or treaty with begging trifles that cannot well be refused, in order to sound the temper of the person they have to do with; if they find his disposition easy, they proceed to ask things of more consequence, and in such a manner that they cannot be refused without breaking with them, and destroying all hopes of trade. In general, there is no hopes of checking their avarice, but by obstinately refusing them every thing they ask; this will sometimes have the effect, and at other times so enrage them, that they avoid all communication, and seize every opportunity of doing you an injury. Their princes are so basely impudent in this begging trade, that if a well-dressed European visits them, they will successively ask for every thing he has about him; for instance, they will beg leave to try on his hat, sword, gloves, &c. till they have got possession of all, and then they will keep them, unless forced to make restitution. However, the Jaloff princes towards Gambia are more modest, honest, and humane, and indeed of a character altogether the reverse of the former. They are less avaricious, less mean, and at the same time less proud, except where certain ceremonies require a decent dignity. Their estates consist chiefly in droves of camels, dromedaries, cows, goats, millet, and fruits. In the audiences they grant the Europeans, they always appear with a becoming magnificence, and great decorum of behaviour. The sovereign is usually seated on a throne, and covered with a long red or blue robe, adorned with the tufts of hair from the tail of an elephant or some other wild animal, little pieces of ivory or coral, and a crown of osiers on his head, decked with little horns of small deer, antelopes, and other animals. He proceeds with great solemnity to the place of audience, which, in fine weather, is generally under the shade of a great tree, round which the guards are ranged, and always with a pipe of tobacco in his mouth. In all these audiences the Arabs and Moorish marbuts have liberties allowed them superior to the Negroes; but the French have some exclusive privileges, denied to all other nations[p].

The officers of Jaloff.

Round Senegal the Jaloffs, we are told, call the princes of the blood by the name of tenhala, and the nobles by that of sahibobo. Le Maire says, that the damel, or prince of that country nearest the Senegal, has under him two officers of the highest rank; the one, called kondi, pre-

[p] Barbot, p. 57. 79. Moore, p. 231.

sides

ſides over all military affairs, and commands his armies; the other, called the great jarafo, ſits at the head of civil affairs, and is chief in all courts of juſtice, the damel himſelf having no power to reverſe his decrees. He makes circuits round all the provinces, to hear complaints and redreſs grievances; ſo that no people of ſo bad a character are more happily governed, or live in a more peaceable manner. Another officer, called the alkair, a word of Mooriſh extraction, is treaſurer to the crown, and exerciſes much the ſame function with the jarafo, but in a narrower compaſs: he too has under him ſubaltern alkairs, or alkades, who are the chiefs in the villages where they reſide, and a kind of juſtices of the peace; though appeals in all caſes of conſequence are made to the jarafo, when he performs his circuit. Barbot relates, that all the great officers have their repreſentatives in every large village, and that there is an infinity of jarafos and alkairs in almoſt every province of the empire. The kondi, who, in virtue of his office, is lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom, and commander in chief of the king's armies, with a power ſimilar to a high conſtable of France, frequently makes the tour of the kingdom with the jarafo, to examine into the conduct of the alkairs; whence it ſeems as if the jarafo alone had no authority to call them to an account. The particular province of an alkade is to levy the rights of the crown, and taxes impoſed for the ſupport of government; though his name ſeems to import the government of ſome town, village, or diſtrict.

Government.

Vaſconcelos affirms, that the Negroes of the coaſt are greatly ſuperior to thoſe of Senegal in the art of government; that they are more exact in all the duties of adminiſtration, their policy more extended, and their ſchemes of ſecurity and aggrandiſement more refined, more profound and ſecret; in a word, that they are more equitable in their rewards and puniſhments, public and private, civil and military adminiſtration; an aſſertion altogether oppoſite to the teſtimony of all other writers. Here the prince's privy council is compoſed of perſons the moſt venerable for their age and wiſdom, and the judges of the moſt experienced and intelligent men of the nation. Puniſhment immediately follows conviction, and a thief is ſold for a ſlave, but ſeldom put to death. La Maire ſays, that a native of Jaloff, who is accuſed of any crime, if he cannot be convicted by poſitive evidence, is obliged to lick with his tongue an ignited bar of iron, ſtroking it ſlowly over three different times. If he reſiſts this trial he is declared inno-

cent, and the accuser is obliged to go through the same trial, otherwise the accused escapes corporal punishment, but is banished the realm. Moore relates, that the Jaloff natives upon the river Gambia, purge themselves of crimes by holding boiling water in the mouth; yet does not the rigour of those punishments deter them from theft and other crimes of an equally heinous nature. Le Maire furnishes us with a very remarkable example of the power of money in preventing justice. Two petty kings, dependents on the damel, the uncle and nephew, disputed about a piece of ground, to which each claimed a right, and at last resolved to leave the affair to the determination of the damel. The day of trial was appointed, and crowds of people assembled from every corner of the kingdom, to see the event of a litigation so solemn and important. Both the princes prostrated themselves before their superior, and each advanced all the arguments he could in support of his claim. The nephew, who was son to the late king, concluded his harangue by representing, that the domains in dispute had belonged to his father, to whom they were given by the favour of heaven, and that it would be the highest injustice to deprive the son and legitimate heir of what the father possessed. After deliberating for some time, the damel replied, "What heaven gave to the father, I will give to the son;" a sentence that was followed with repeated shouts of applause from the whole assembly. The justice of the damel, the praises of the nephew, and the dishonesty of the uncle, were echoed from mouth to mouth, and every man seemed happy in so equitable a decision. Next day, while the young man was ruminating upon his good fortune, he was amazed to find himself stripped of all he possessed, without any new offence or form of trial; but he soon found that the damel, corrupted by a large bribe, had revoked the sentence, reestablished his uncle, and to prevent his disputing this final decision, had divested him of his honours, authority, and property. What surprised him still more, was the sudden alteration in the sentiments of the people, whose love kept pace with his fortune, for they now decried him as much as they before had praised him; and his uncle, who but the day before was the subject of their ribaldry and satire, became now the object of their adoration [1].

[1] Le Maire, p. 119.

As there is an infinity of petty kings included under the general name of Jaloff princes, so there are perpetual wars in some quarter or other of this large tract of country. When a rupture with some other power is resolved on, the kondi assembles the troops, which never exceed five hundred in number: thus it is that their greatest battles are really but skirmishes, in which hardly any dead are left in the field. Voyagers inform us, that in the whole kingdom of Damel there are scarce horses sufficient to mount two hundred men, and yet the strength of their armies consists in their cavalry. The king of Damel is however a potent prince for that part of the world; his armies are well supplied with provisions, and hundreds of women attend the camp every day with live stock, for the use of the troops, as well as fruits, roots, and all kinds of vegetables. Sometimes five hundred dishes of kuskas are sent into the camp, dressed and seasoned in a variety of different methods. Such of them as suit the king's taste, he keeps, the rest he distributes among the officers and soldiers. The arms of the cavalry consist of long darts, a kind of javelin, rivetted like an arrow, and short swords, which they use when they dismount; a part of discipline they are always taught, and frequently practise in battle; however, so loaded are they with grisgris, that they march but slowly on foot. The infantry are armed with scymitars, javelins, and a quiver, each charged with ten or twelve poisoned arrows, a wound from which is attended with infallible death. Their bows are made of a kind of hard reed, resembling the bamboo, and the cord of an elastic piece of wood, which they form with great dexterity to yield and recover its tone. All the Negroes are such excellent marksmen, that few will miss a shilling at the distance of fifty paces; but they fight in a tumultuous and irregular manner, both sides marching into the middle of the plain, pitched upon for the engagement, without any manner of order and discipline; their guirats, or instruments of war, sounding all the while, with a most horrible din. When they come within a proper distance, the infantry make a general discharge of their arrows, after which they engage sword in hand, but with such precaution, as all the while to have their commercial interest in view, making as many prisoners and as little slaughter as possible; for the prisoners of all ranks and ages are to be sold for slaves. Moore however affirms, that, notwithstanding all their care, their battles are frequently very bloody in their consequences, although

Occasions of war.

Their arms.

Method of fighting.

the carnage in the field be not considerable, as few of those wounded with their poisoned arrows ever recover.

Should the first shock of battle fail to decide victory, they will frequently renew it for several successive days; and at length, when the obstinacy of both sides begins to faint under the fatigue of action, they enter upon a treaty by means of their marbuts, who meet in the field between the two armies; and, if these holy men agree about the articles of convention, they swear upon the Alkoran and by Mohammed to be faithful to their engagements.

The character of some Oualoff princes.

Moore and Le Maire give us sketches of the character of some princes that reigned here, when they resided in the country. The king of Hoval, once a powerful and respected prince, was now, and since the year 1682, become tributary to another petty king, not for want of courage, but by reason of his inferior strength. His dominions stretch about fifty miles along the river, and are eight or ten miles broad, besides certain little domains and lordships about the mouth of the river, and without the boundaries we have mentioned. Although this prince is absolute in his dominions, yet does he often stand in need of a handful of millet to keep him from starving; and hence arose the cause of his subjection, poverty having effected what the sword could not. Necessity often obliged him to make incursions into the neighbouring territories, in search of slaves, cattle, and other plunder, which he immediately sold to the French for brandy. One circumstance in the conduct of this prince deserves to be mentioned. When he had got possession of a puncheon of brandy, he first got drunk, and then ordered it to be locked up, and the key put into the hands of his favourite minister, who was obliged to ride off thirty or forty miles distance from the king. This expedient he practised by way of check on his inclinations, knowing, that, if the key was in his power, he could not resist the temptation of drinking till the whole was exhausted: but the minister had often reason to repent obeying his majesty; for when the fit seized him, he immediately dispatched a messenger for his favourite and the key; and if he did not make his appearance within the time allowed by his majesty, his head became the forfeit [q].

Kingdom of Barfalli.

The Jaloffs who border on the river Gambia occupy the kingdom of Barfalli and the Lower Yaui. Moore alleges,

[q] Moore, ibid. Vide etiam Le Maire, & Labat, in loc. citat. Barbot, p. 58.

that

that the name of the royal family here is Ujai. This monarch governs with a despotic authority, all the people prostrating themselves on their faces whenever any person of the royal family appears; and from this mark of respect no degree of quality is exempted; yet does he live upon a most familiar footing and perfect equality with his troops and all the officers of his army. Every soldier has his share of the booty made in war, and the king but a certain moderate proportion, considering that he might, if he pleased, seize upon the whole. This custom it is that makes the Barsallans not only pursue a war with vigour, but continue it with obstinacy; for the soldiers, reaping the reward of their toils, refuse no hazard or fatigue to render the remainder of their lives easy. All the court profess the Mohammedan religion; though they seem to pay little regard to that part of the impostor's creed which forbids the use of wine; for the king cannot live without brandy, nor is he ever more devout than when he is drunk.

Dress of the Oualoffs.

The general dress of the Jaloffs is a kind of loose callicoe surplice, that hangs down below the knee; which they sometimes plait about the waist, in a very agreeable manner; and the natives of Barsalli in particular wear a great number of gold trinkets in their hair, ears, noses, and round their necks, arms, and legs; but the women especially are fond of those ornaments. The king of Barsalli, whom Moore saw in 1732, had a prodigious number of women: but when he went abroad, he was seldom attended by more than two, who seemed to be dressed out in the whole finery and jewels of the seraglio. He had likewise a number of brethren; but it was seldom that he deigned to speak to them, and much less to associate with them; but if ever he condescended to do them that honour, they were forced to treat him with the same respect as other subjects, and prostrate themselves on the earth the moment they came into his presence, notwithstanding they were the presumptive heirs to the crown. Here indeed it is usual for the king's children to dispute the right with the brothers, and the longest sword generally carries away the prize [r].

Farther account of the king of Barsalli.

The usual residence of the prince is at Kahone, a town situated near the sea, a hundred miles from Jour, another town belonging to the same king, on the river Gambia. When his majesty is in want of brandy, or any other

[r] Moore, in loco ult. citat.

necessary, he sends to beg of the governor of James fort, that he will dispatch a boat with the merchandize he may have occasion for; to purchase which he plunders the neighbouring towns, and seizes a certain number of his subjects, whom he sells for slaves, and exchanges for European commodities. This is his method of supplying himself, if he happens to be at peace with his neighbours; for which reason the people can never be so happy and secure as when they are at war, their most cruel enemy being their own king, and their greatest danger arising from the person who ought to protect them in their liberties, lives, and property.

His majesty of Barsalli has divided his kingdom into a number of provinces, over which he has set governors, called bumeys, who pay him an annual homage, and send in a certain revenue or tribute to the exchequer. Those bumeys are powerful and absolute within their jurisdictions; but they seldom carry their prerogative so far as to incur the dislike of the people, whose affections are the surest barriers against the tyrannical encroachments of the king. His majesty has notwithstanding an absolute dominion over these governors, his standing forces being at all times sufficient to reduce them to obedience, should they attempt to throw off their subjection; but this is seldom, or never the case, both sides finding it their interest to live in amity, the one to acknowledge the homage that is due, and the other to require no more than is due. Thus the king enjoys a despotic dominion, without having the whole load of government upon his shoulders; the bumeys enjoy all the privileges of crowned heads, only by acknowledging a superior; and the people are in the full possession of happiness, by having a kind of mediator between them and the monarch, whose slaves they are.

The king of Barsalli maintains so strenuously the dignity of despotism, that he admits of no other counsellor besides his prime minister, that is, his prime slave: for nothing can be more servile than the implicit regard this tool of state pays to the nod of his master. The minister is at the same time the general of the king's forces, and the interpreter of his will, from the very letter of which he must never deviate. He is called the great farbro, or master of the horse; and he likewise enjoys another office, that of bearing the sword of state before the king upon all public occasions.

Before we enter upon the religion and other particulars common to all the Negroes inhabiting the banks of the rivers

rivers Gambia and Senegal, and that great tract of country lying between both, from the sea to the lakes Mabeira and Lahor, we shall just give the geography of two other states that deserve some notice, as being next in power and extent to those we have described. The first is the kingdom of Galam, situated eastward, about twenty-four miles from the bar at the mouth of the river Senegal, beginning a league below Fuabo, and extending forty-five miles up the river, to the cataract or high rock Felum. This kingdom is bordered on the north and north-west by those vast tracts of good and bad regions inhabited by the wandering Moors, and by some of the Foulis, who reside constantly in their town, and acknowlege the sovereignty of the Siratick king. On the east and north-east is the kingdom of Cosson, or Casson; whose prince has the title of Segudova, and resides in an island, about a mile higher than the cataract of Felum. This island is formed by two branches of the river, which, after a course of above sixty miles, lose themselves in the lake Caston, a great body of water, but very imperfectly known to Europeans. They are called the black and white rivers; probably from the colour of the sand and channel through which they run. As the French have never penetrated beyond Govina, that prodigious cataract which had foiled all the attempts of the adventurers sent from the island of Senegal by the sieur De Brue, we know nothing of the kingdom of Casson, but from the report of the Moorish merchants and Negro factors, who pretend to no knowlege of the north side; but affirm, that to the south it extends to the countries of Godova and Giaca; the Mandingoes of Tamboura and Bambous being tributary, though not actually subject to it. The Cassons are said to be descended from the Foulis, rich, industrious, numerous; their king the sovereign of Galam, and of most of the other states under the immediate dominion of the Siratick. The country is reported to abound with mines of gold, silver, and copper, so rich that the ore appears almost at the surface of the earth; and this the natives rake off, sift, and sell as gold dust, after it has been first washed and cleaned by a running stream.

An account of some other interior nations.

Labat says, that, before the direction of affairs at Senegal came into the hands of the sieur De Brue, several of his predecessors had formed the design of accurately examining the kingdoms of Galam and Casson, with intention to cultivate assiduously the commerce which those rich countries afford; but whether from a deficiency in

power, capacity, ſteadineſs, or from the natural difficulties which attend the execution of all new projects, it is certain they could never puſh their diſcoveries beyond Leide, Betel, or Guilde, the cataracts of the Niger being inſurmountable difficulties. Without venturing to eſtabliſh factories, and a regular ſettled commerce, they contented themſelves with ſending a few ſmall veſſels as far up as the river was navigable, to receive the ſlaves, gold, and ivory, which the Mandingo merchants did not chuſe to carry to the river Gambia: but of this we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly, when we come to treat of the navigation and commerce of thoſe two rivers; at preſent we ſhall relate thoſe cuſtoms which are peculiar to the inhabitants of that great tract of land lying between the rivers Gambia and Senegal, and common to them all, though diſtinguiſhed into different nations [1].

SECT. III.

Containing a minute Deſcription of the Dreſs, Diet, Marriages, Education of Children, and Burials of the interior Negroes in general; of their Language, Arts, Manufactures, &c. of their Religion and Superſtitions; together with a particular Account of their Marbuts, or Prieſts.

Dreſs of the Negroes in general.

THE common dreſs all over this part of Africa is a kind of ſhirt or ſurplice, and wide drawers, made of blue and white cotton cloth, the ſleeves large, which they tuck up over their arms, when they are employed in any buſineſs that require the free uſe of their hands; and the drawers hanging in a bag that ſeparates their legs, and makes them ſtraddle as they walk. On their feet they wear a kind of leathern ſandals, buttoned at the inſtep and toes, and behind at the heel. Their heads and whole bodies, when full dreſſed, are covered over with griſgris: for here religious ornaments conſtitute the material and chief beauties of dreſs. Some wear a ſword ſlung over the right ſhoulder, others a long dart, and others a bow and arrows; but all have a long knife hung by their left ſide, a weapon they are never ſeen without. We here ſpeak of perſons of better faſhion, for as to the poor, they generally go naked, and are at leaſt bare-footed. As to

[1] Vide Moore, Labat, Le Maire, & Barbot, in locis citat.

the

the women, their dreſs conſiſts only of a piece of cotton, tied round the waiſt, and falling down to the knee, in form of a petticoat, much in the ſame manner as that worn by the Negroes of the Gold, Ivory, and Grain Coaſts: all the upper part of the body is naked; and this they mark, ſtain, and paint, with various figures and colours, which at a diſtance have the reſemblance of a painted callicoe or flowered ſtuff. Some of them have a looſe piece of cotton cloth careleſly flung over the ſhoulder; but this is a piece of extravagance very unuſual: and Moore obſerves, that both ſexes pride themſelves on having a large bunch of keys ſuſpended to their girdles, only for the oſtentation of paſſing for perſons of wealth [a].

With regard to the diet of thoſe Negroes, it is plain and ſimple, compoſed chiefly of rice, roots, and fruits, which they eat with abundance of appetite, as we may imagine from their making but one meal a day, and that in the evening. This temperance however is not ſo much the reſult of virtue as of lazineſs, which prevents their going in ſearch of game, the only animal food they uſe; for their cattle, ſheep, and goats, are carefully kept for milk. The ordinary drink of all the Negroes is water; though the better ſort of people in this country uſe palm wine, diluted with water, and a kind of beer, called ballo, made from the grain moſt common here; but whether that be rice or millet, we are not told. It is true they have all an extreme fondneſs for brandy and ſtrong ſpirits; but as theſe are purchaſed from the Europeans, perſons of condition only are able to indulge in them to any degree of exceſs: yet, whatever the inclinations of the men to debauchery may be, nothing can exceed the behaviour of the women as to temperance and ſimplicity of diet and drink; for they never taſte any thing ſtronger than water, or at moſt a little wine or ballo plentifully diluted.

Their diet.

Some authors tell us, that the Negroes make two meals a day, one about noon, the other in the evening; that they ſit down to table without any of that furniture deemed neceſſary among us; they eat with their fingers, and always uſe the right hand, eſteeming it an indecency to touch their food or lips with the left, which they employ in all the meaner offices. Nor are their kings any better provided with the inſtruments of refinements and luxury, although they eat in ſtate, and alone, except when they ſometimes admit their high marbut to the honour of

[a] Jobſon's Golden Trade, p. 49. 55. Le Maire, p. 131.

ſitting

ſitting with them at table. Hence it is that the Negroes very unwillingly admit Europeans to their meals, as if they themſelves were ſenſible of the miſery, the ſlovenly manner, and the clowniſhneſs of their cuſtoms, in this particular.

Marriages. As to their marriages, we find a variety of different relations by voyagers. Jobſon alleges, that every man has a right to marry the girl he loves, without regard to fortune or quality, or indeed to any other circumſtance than that of maturity and a proper age; yet he allows, that contracts are ſeldom made without the participation and conſent of the parents, in whoſe hands the man depoſits the jointure intended, or at leaſt a proper ſecurity for the payment. The king or chief perſon in the province, town, or village, holds certain rights, as the general guardian of all the girls within his juriſdiction, more eſpecially of orphans. As ſoon as the preliminaries are adjuſted, the bridegroom, accompanied with a number of young fellows, ſet out by moon-light, or at leaſt in the night, and ſurround the houſe of the bride, in order to carry her off by force; while ſhe and her female attendants pretend to make all poſſible reſiſtance, and alarm the whole village with their cries; a coyneſs that is looked upon as a ceremony of courſe, ſo that no oppoſition is made to the raviſher, the comedy always terminating in a wedding. To ſuch a degree of abſurdity is this farce carried, that the lover haunts the houſe for ſeveral weeks before, and is ſeen concealing himſelf in woods and groves around the reſidence of the object of his wiſhes, covering his face with a veil, to prevent diſcovery, and giving the courtſhip all the air of an intrigue, without which the joy is reckoned flat and inſipid [b].

Moore affirms, that about the river Gambia a father often betroths his daughter to ſome neighbouring infant on the day of her birth; an engagement ſo firm and binding, that it can never be retracted; nor are the inclinations of the parties themſelves ſufficient to diſſolve a marriage made without their conſent. In general the women marry very young, and leave off bearing children at the time of life when others begin. When a marriage contract is agreed upon, the bridegroom muſt preſent the parents of his bride with two cows, a bar of iron, and two hundred kola nuts; without which ceremony the bargain is not binding, even ſuppoſing he ſhould have carried her home

[b] Janequin, p. 96.

and

and consummated. The same author observes, that the husband must give an entertainment, to which all the neighbours are supposed to come without invitation; and that this ceremony, the neglect of which inevitably incurs the contempt of the village, continues for three or four days. The bride is carried from her father's house upon the shoulders of young fellows, friends to the bridegroom, her face covered with a veil, which she never lays aside till after consummation; her doing this being a testimony to the whole assembly that the nuptial rites are duly performed; for the method is, that the married pair retire, while the company continue singing, dancing, and drinking, till their return.

Labat's account of this ceremony, in the countries bordering on the Senegal, is different. Here the young lover applies to the parents of his mistress, and endeavours to win her consent through their influence, but without ever desiring or expecting that any constraint should be laid on her inclinations, which he believes must terminate unhappily to both parties. If he has been so fortunate as to gain her affections, he makes some presents to the father and mother, or nearest relations, the bride is conducted to his house, and the marriage is concluded without any other form or ceremony than a collation to the village. When she approaches the house, the bridegroom offers her his hand, to conduct her to the best apartment; where she no sooner enters, than he takes upon him the husband, and employs her immediately in fetching water, or in some other servile occupation, intimating thereby her subordination; and she respectfully retires at the first motion to execute his commands. She sups after him, attends him in quality of a servant during supper, and patiently waits his time to be led to bed; but this is an authority which only brutal husbands assume after the first night, and while it is looked upon as a marriage ceremony. If the bride is secure of her being a virgin, a thing extremely rare in any of the Negro countries, she always, from a motive of vanity and compliment to her husband, spreads a white cotton cloth upon the bed, which, in token of her former chastity, and the abilities of the bridegroom, she exposes publicly to the company after consummation; by whom it is received with profound respect, and carried in triumph round the village, attended by crowds of people, with a variety of music, and great rejoicings. Labat assures us, that if the proper marks of virginity do not appear, the parents are obliged to take her back, if the bridegroom requires

requires it: but this is a disgrace seldom put upon them, as the greatest care is taken that the bride be examined by competent judges before marriage; and should the husband chance to be disappointed, he chuses rather to keep his engagement than embroil two families, the inevitable consequence of sending back the bride[c]. It is true, that in many parts of this coast virginity is but little prized, the Africans as well as Europeans being greatly divided about the value of this female jewel, some deeming it above, and others below all estimation. We shall conclude our account of the nuptial ceremony, with a custom which is observed by some nations of this division, according to Janequin, a writer of some credit. By him we are told, that the bride is delivered naked to the bridegroom by her parents; that he immediately carries her before the marbut, who orders them to eat a few grains of fine sand, and to consummate the following night, this being the whole form of marriage. According to the same writer, if the marks of virginity are not evident in the morning, the husband has a right immediately to repudiate his wife; and this in some countries is esteemed so disgraceful, that a woman who cannot bear the test will rather perish than marry.

All authors agree, that polygamy is permitted here, with the same latitude as in all other Negro countries, the husband being confined to no number, and taking as many women as his circumstances will support; but they differ greatly concerning the privileges of the husband and wife, the power given to the one, and the obedience required of the other. Jobson calls one of the women the handwife, because she always attends the husband, assumes a kind of superiority over the rest, and is, in fact, the mistress of the family, because she has brought him the first child, or the largest fortune, or, what is of more consequence than all, her virginity. In consequence of her station, she is exempted from many of the servile occupations in which all the rest are employed, and sometimes eats with her husband, an honour denied to others, who eat in a little cabin apart from the principal hut, never appearing in his presence but when called, or sharing in his embraces but when satiety of the principal woman calls for variety; notwithstanding which usage, Jobson speaks with admiration of the harmony and perfect understanding that reigns

[c] P. 131.

through

through the whole, where all might expect to be in confusion, from jealousy, lust, and envy [c].

Punishment of adultery.

The punishment of adultery is, according to Jobson, no other than slavery, with this caution, that both parties be sold to the Europeans; for then they are assured that the criminals will be transported beyond sea: but Barbot observes, that if they are taken in the act, the adulterer is put to death, and the woman repudiated, the greater guilt being always supposed to lie on the man: as for her, she returns to her parents, who are obliged to receive her, as if nothing had happened; though in some places she is stigmatized with a mark of infamy, and forbid to associate with the other women of the family. In some cases the woman is put to death, or sold for a slave, while the man escapes unpunished; but this must be on clear evidence, that she had decoyed him into a belief of her being single [f].

Moore affirms, that, in general, the husband has the power of punishing the infidelity of his wife, by selling her to the highest bidder, or driving her out of his house with all her children: yet, notwithstanding the rigour of these laws, the women look upon an intrigue with a white man as a great honour, and their husbands frequently compliment the factors with the use of their wives, their sisters, or daughters; but Barbot thinks, that this complaisance proceeds from motives of interest; as there is no tie so sacred but they will break, nothing so base but they will commit, to gratify their strongest of passions, the love of money. Although the women are by nature not averse to gallantry, yet among them too interest is the first principle and spring of their affections, which they always proportion to the wealth and liberality of the lover; and as they are in general tall, handsome, and lascivious, the Europeans seldom dispute with them about the price of their favours [g].

Among the Negroes of this country, whether Mohammedans or Pagans, there are certain degrees of consanguinity, which are by law prohibited frym marrying; for instance, a man cannot marry his sister, his daughter, his aunt, or niece; and a king who would violate this religious law, would probably be severely censured by the marbuts. All the women are incredibly intrepid in childbearing, as in the severest pains of labour they never utter a groan, or even a sigh, which would be reckoned cowardly in the most racking pangs. They seldom require the as-

[c] P. 51. [f] Labat, tom. iv. p. 190. [g] P. 133.

sistance

ſiſtance of a midwife, except thoſe who are pregnant very young, and never keep their beds above a day or two, if at all: in general, indeed, the mother and infant are immediately waſhed, the child wrapt up in a cloth, tucked round the mother's ſhoulders, who ſets about her work as if nothing extraordinary had happened.

Education of children. Five or ſix days after birth, ſome writers ſay a month, the child has a name given it, with the ceremony of having his head ſhaved and anointed with oil, in the preſence of five or ſix of the neareſt relations. Their names, at leaſt among the profeſſors of that religion, are generally Mohammedan, ſuch as Omar, Hali, Dimbi, Maliel, for boys; and Fatema, Alimata, Kamba, &c. for girls; after which, the child is every morning waſhed in cold water, and then anointed with palm-oil [1].

The mothers treat their children with exceeding tenderneſs, ſparing no fatigue or labour in indulging them, till they are able to walk, and then carefully cheriſhing and aſſiduouſly attending their bodies, but neglecting their minds, till they are in a condition to provide for themſelves. As they are bred in a perpetual courſe of idleneſs, their lazineſs becomes habitual, and ſeldom wears off for their whole lives; and this is all they gain by the ill-judged tenderneſs of the mother. As to the girls, they are bred to labour from their infancy, to a reſerved and modeſt behaviour in company, eſpecially with their ſuperiors and parents; but take them aſide, ſays Barbot, and you will find, that an education, not founded on principle, and inſtilled by example, is but of little efficacy, as there are no favours which they will not grant for a bunch of coral and ribband, or a glaſs toy. Here, as well as in ſome other countries we have deſcribed, the woman avoids the careſſes of her huſband for three years after child-bearing, a cuſtom founded upon their affection for their children, who, they imagine, contract diſtempers from the mother's milk, contaminated by the nuptial embrace; however, their natural deſires are in general too ſtrong for their regard to their children; and it is the huſband's fault, if they do not ſhorten the period aſſigned by cuſtom for this penance.

Burials. The cuſtoms obſerved upon the death of any perſon are the ſame we have related in our account of the Gold Coaſt, the whole village being immediately appriſed of the loſs, by the cries and diſtracted lamentations of the family;

[1] Barbot, p. 37. Le Maire, p. 159, 160.

the

the marbut, instead of the feticheres, carefully washing the body; and then covering it with the same cloaths the person usually wore, the relations coming, one after another, to propose ridiculous questions to the deceased; such as, whether he was unwilling to live with them; what could put it into his head to die; whether he complained of the narrowness of his fortune; whether he had too few handsome women; or, whether any of the relations had offended him, that he should take this cruel method of punishing them: on the other hand, the guirots, a species of musicians, play and sing the praises of the deceased, and a folgan, or *ball*, is given to all the attendants, in memory of the defunct. Slaves are sold to purchase brandy; and, after the entertainment, the cover is removed from the grave in which the body is to be deposited (B). Four of the nearest relations sustain a cloth, by way of pall, which is spread over the corpse, while the marbut whispers certain inarticulate sounds in its ear. After this ceremony it is immediately covered with dust, the tomb-stone laid upon it, and over that a piece of cloth of any colour the relations

(B) The Folgian is conducted in the following manner: all the young people of the village assemble in a large area, in the middle of which they light a great fire. The spectators form an oblong square at both ends, of which the dancers are ranged in opposite lines, the men on one side, and the women on the other. Two tabors regulate the dance, and as soon as they beat, the performers begin a song, which is chorussed by the whole assembly; at the same time a dancer stepping forth from each line, advances towards the opposite person he is fondest of, to the distance of two or three feet, and presently draws back in cadence, till the tabor gives the signal for them to come close, and to strike their thighs against each other, the partners being always of different sexes. This done, they draw back again, and advance with different movements, accommodated to the time of music, till at length they return to their places. After every person in each line has done the same, then they all meet, and dance in chorus, with much the same movements as they did singly, if not still more lascivious and immodest. The Negroes never foot it, yet is every member and joint of the body in motion, even the head and the muscles of the face playing in the most ridiculous grimace; and in this variety of distortions consists the excellency of the dancer, as it shews activity, but very little grace, or what we call a genteel air (1).

(1) Labat, Relat. de l'Afrique Occidental. part. iv. chap. 1.

chuse.

chuſe. At the head ſtands a jar of water, and ſome plates of kuſkus; and near this a pole, on which are ſuſpended the bows, arrows, darts, and ſword of the deceaſed. In ſome countries they draw a deep ditch round the grave, to prevent its being dug up by wild beaſts, as frequently happens where this precaution is omitted. If the deceaſed be a boy, the women and girls of the village chant a funeral ſervice, while the boys run about the ſtreets, making a diſmal noiſe with their harſh inſtruments, and the clattering of arms, with which they are provided for this occaſion, committing all poſſible extravagancies [k].

When a king dies, a certain time is fixed for the public mourning, which conſiſts of a full chorus of howling over the grave; hundreds of Negroes, who deteſted the deceaſed as a tyrant while living, now tearing their hair, beating their breaſts, and pouring forth ceremonious and unfelt lamentations for his death. All the rich ſubjects, from every quarter of his dominions, ſend preſents of fowls, ſheep, rice, and millet, for the maintenance of the mourners, and open table is kept round the grave for ſeveral days, where nothing but mirth and riot reigns, except at the hours deſtined to grief. Some writers tell us, that their plaints begin at ſun-riſing, and continue till the evening, when the tragic farce is laid aſide, and ſucceeded by dancing, ſinging, jollity, and debauchery of the moſt extravagant nature [l].

If the king have no demands upon the eſtate of a deceaſed Negro, the brothers, ſiſters, and other relations, enter into poſſeſſion of his effects, little regard being paid to the claims of the children, unleſs they happen to be of an age to diſpute their rights; but of the laws concerning inheritance, as well as of all other civil and poſitive laws, almoſt all the writers upon this ſubject have been very ſhort, as if they imagined a true idea of a people is to be acquired not from theſe, but from the general cuſtoms that prevail among them. They enlarge greatly upon their dancing, muſic, and exerciſes, while they touch ſlightly upon whatever characterizes the intellect, chuſing rather to amuſe than inſtruct.

As to the muſical inſtruments of this country, it would be difficult to convey by words an exact notion of them; we ſhall mention, however, ſome of the moſt peculiar and

k Labat, tom. iv. cap. 1. etiam tom. ii. p. 303. l Moore, p. 129. & ſeq.

curious:

curious: every village has its tontong, a kind of large drum, which is beat upon the approach of the enemy, and gives the alarm on all extraordinary occasions; and this it effectually does, as it is distinctly heard at the distance of seven miles. Jobson describes a kind of stringed instrument he had seen near the river Gambia, which we take, from his account, to be a kind of harp. He says, it is the only instrument upon which the Negroes play with their fingers; though we are at a loss to imagine how they could otherwise touch the balafo, or ballard, as he calls it, which, from the description of all writers, though they differ in certain circumstances, appears to be a kind of spinet, with keys and strings of various lengths and sizes. Barbot and Le Maire are persuaded, that, in the hands of a master, this instrument would be very harmonious, though in the hands of the Negroes it is very imperfect, but not disagreeable. Moore speaks of an instrument, to which he gives the name bulafo, which they strike with quills, or bits of reed, in the manner of a dulcimer; but he has probably misapplied the name, and confounded two different instruments. As to their musicians, voyagers tell us, that they are, to a man, the worst that are to be met with in any part of the universe, and, imperfect as their instruments are, their execution disgraces them. We have frequently mentioned their guirots, a term which is rendered by all our English voyagers by fidler, though Nyandael, in describing the Grain Coast, speaks of those guirots as a species of bards and buffoons, of which the king and nobility retain a great number as domestics: it is possible, that both professions may be united in one, as music and poetry are sister arts, and wit is always nearly allied to poetry. The European factors are never visited by any of the princes or nobility of the country, but they are regaled by the guirots or juddies, as Jobson calls them, who, like the Irish harpers, seat themselves at some distance from the company, and begin a sort of recitative, which they accompany with their instruments, the subject being generally extempore, and suited to the occasion, by the fertile invention of the performer; but if nothing particular offers, they then turn their songs to a panegyric, upon the antiquity, nobility, courage, generosity, and wealth of their patron, in which they are equally fulsome, flat, and insipid, as the bards of Europe, though they sometimes rise to the sublime in poetry, and a cadence not inharmonious. It is generally observed, that they succeed

well in description, rather from a happy imagination than energy of diction; for their language, if we may judge from the vocabularies we have seen, seems to be rather soft and harmonious, than expressive and strong, which indeed is the case with most of the Negro languages, that have any thing in them at all articulate.

We have not yet acquired a sufficiently clear geographical notion of this division of Africa, and of the several nations who inhabit it, to be able to distinguish their different languages, and ascertain the boundaries where one language ends and another begins; whether they all are not different dialects of the same root, is what we cannot determine. It is acknowleged, that only three different languages are spoken in all the variety of nations within this division; and these are the Jalofian, Foulian, and Mandingan, which have likewise a very near analogy in the manner of forming their words, though we cannot say how frequently the very same word may express the same things, with the alteration of a few letters, as no voyagers have given us the same vocabulary of words to each language. Barbot believes the Jalofian to be the same as Zanguayan, or more properly the Sangayan, which Leo Africanus affirms, is the common language of the interior countries of Guinea, Tombuto, Melli, and Gago. Moore says, that the common language spoken on both sides the Gambia is the Mandingan, with which you may bargain and perform every part of trade, from the mouth of the river to the country of the Jonkos, or *merchants*, which is a voyage of at least six weeks from James Fort; but a kind of corrupt Portuguese, which our author calls Creolian, is what is most commonly spoken by the vulgar natives, who trade with the Europeans [m].

Languages.

It is this Portuguese, no more understood in Lisbon than Arabic, that is used by all the Negro interpreters, when they explain any thing to the Europeans. Most of the Foulis of the Mohammedan religion inhabiting the river Gambia, speak a pure Arabic; though this is rather a learned language, it not being primitive in any one country, in a line from Cape Blanco to the great country of Nubia, bordering on the Red Sea. As there cannot, perhaps, be a surer method of mounting to the origin of a people, and discovering the relations between several nations, than researches into their language, we shall give in

[m] Labat, Moore, Barbot, ubi supra.

our

our margin a catalogue of words, in the Mandingan, Foulian, and Jalofian tongues, which we believe will not be unacceptable to some of our curious readers (C).

After

(C) *English.*	Oualofian.	*English.*	Foulian.
Iron	*Win*	A gun	*Lossoul fetel*
A box	*Ovachande*	A boy	*Soukagorgo*
A cow	*Nagul*	A glutton	*Haderoro*
The mouth	*Guemin*	A man	*Gerkomahodo*
The arm	*Smallou*	A house	*Sanddo*
A sheep	*Sedre*	Millet	*Shangle*
A cat	*Guanopa*	The sea	*Gueek*
A goat	*Baye*	Mistress of the house	*Mado dans*
A dog	*Kraaf*	The skin	*Arbay illan*
A horse	*Faarf*	Lead	*Chaye*
A key	*Denovachande*	Feathers	*Donguo*
A rope	*Bouma*	Rain	*Tobo*
A knife	*Pakha*	A fish	*Linghno*
A crocodile	*Guesik*	A pot or pan	*Fabando*
To dance	*Faike*	A fowl	*Guartogal*
Elephants teeth	*Guayneguay*	An ape	*Ovandon*
The devil	*Guiney*	Tobacco	*Taba*
God	*Thala*	The earth	*Latudi*
The teeth	*Sonabenatia*	A cow	*Kandi*
The fingers	*Sinaharam*	The wind	*Hendoun*
A fat woman	*Digin gohir*	The belly	*Rhedo*
A whore	*Ghelorbi*	Cloth	*Chomcon*
Feathers	*Dangue*	A table	*Gamgou*
Rain	*Taubo*	Thunder	*Demadeno*

Familiar Phrases.

English.	Oualofian.	Foulian.
How do you do	*Quara quaiho*	*Casse semba*
Very well	*Guam de boar*	*Sambo mido*
Whence come you	*Culay*	*Argay*
Give me some drink	*Mamaman*	*Loca hi arde*
The wind is high	*Galigon harena*	*Hendon heny*
It rains	*Datta ou*	- - -
It thunders	*Demadeno*	*Dhirry*
'Tis hot	- - -	*Onarm he aud*
'Tis cold	*Luina*	*Giangol*
I see you	*Guesnala*	*Made hyma*
Hold your tongue	*Noppil*	*De you*
'Tis a fine morning	*Leligentel*	*Soubake allou*
A good evening to you	*Fon anguiam samba*	*Nichollay*
I would be with your daughter	- - -	*Medo leleby*
Let me enter	*Nangrettery*	- - -
Put it in the fire	*Guinguela manguiou*	*Ovanguielle cassade*

After the idea we have given of the general indolence of these Negroes, it cannot be expected that they should have

From this specimen, and the number of vowels which frequently follow each other, it is obvious, that these languages cannot be strong, on account of the great number of elisions and interruptions of the voice.

Before we proceed to the Mandingan vocabulary, we shall give a specimen of the numerals of the above languages.

English.	Jaloff.	Fouli.
One	*Ben*	*Gou*
Two	*Yare*	*Didy*
Three	*Yet*	*Taty*
Four	*Yanet*	*Naye*
Five	*Guerom*	*Guieve*
Six	*Guerom ben*	*Gui gou*
Seven	*Guerom yare*	*Gui didy*
Eight	*Guerom yet*	*Gui taty*
Nine	*Guerom yanet*	*Gui naye*
Ten	*Fuk*	*Sapo*
Eleven	*Fuk ak ben* (1)	*Sapo gou*
Twelve	*Fuk ak yare*	*Sapo didy* } Thus you proceed to twenty, which in both languages stands.
Twenty	*Nitte*	*Sopou*
Twenty-one	*Nitte ak ben*	*Sopou gou*
Thirty	*Fomanir*	*Famoair*
Forty	*Yanet fuk*	*Naggash*
Fifty	*Guerom fuk*	The Foulian is lost
Sixty	*Guerom ben fuk*	
Seventy	*Guerom yare fuk*	
Eighty	*Guerom yet fuk*	
Ninety	*Guerom yanet fuk*	
Hundred	*Temere*	*Temedere*
Hundred and one	*Temere ak ben*	*Temedere gou*
Two hundred	*Yare temere*	*Temedere didy*
Three hundred	*Yet temere*	*Temedere taty*
Thousand	*Gune*	*Temedere sopou*

Thus we easily perceive, that the formation of both languages are similar, particularly in the method of combining the numerals.

Mandingan Vocabulary.

The head	*Kang*	Beer	*Tooloo*
Silver	*Kodey*	Beautiful	*Neemen*

(1) *Ak* in the Jalofian is a copulative, corresponding to our *and*; as thus, ten and one, or eleven.

The

have made any great progreſs in trade, manufacture, or the arts; in fact, they have no mechanics, but ſuch as are *Arts and manufactures.*

The mouth	*Dau*	A merchant	*Janko*
A bow	*Kalla*	A married woman	*Monſa*
A cameleon	*Minire*	A mother	*Bau*
A duck	*Bru*	A liar	*Munbetty*
Heat	*Kandree*	A grandmother	*Mooſe bau*
A dog	*Oulve*	Death	*Sata*
A great dog	*Oulve bau*	Night	*Fin*
A cock	*Doontong*, or *ſoufcki*	A nut	*Teah*
A crocodile	*Bambo*	A door	*Tauh*
An elephant's teeth	*Sama ning*	A parent	*Narita*
A doe	*Tonkong*	A father	*Fau*
God	*Alla*	A grandfather	*Kea fau*
The devil	*Bua*	A king	*Kanne ken*
A ſlave	*Topk*	A ſorcerer	*Kaa*
Fire	*Jeuol*	The ſun	*Tillo*
An arrow	*Beuna*	Thunder	*Koran ala*
A man	*Kea*	A cow	*Niſa mooſa*
A ſerpent	*Mamoune*	A veſſel	*Toboulou kalore*
A river	*Bato*	Bread	*Mongo*
Salt	*Kee*	Wind	*Funnio*
Milk	*Nanna*	A tornado or hurricane	*Sau*
A lion	*Jatta*	A thief	*Sunear*
A wolf	*Sillou*	A drunkard	*Serreta*
A horſe	*Fon*	A coward	*Tanini*

Mandingan Numerals.

One	*Killin*	Sixteen	*Tongning oro*
Two	*Foula*	Seventeen	*Tongning oronglo*
Three	*Sabba*	Eighteen	*Tongning ſye*
Four	*Nani*	Nineteen	*Tongning mouante*
Five	*Lonlou*	Twenty	*Noau*
Six	*Oro*	Thirty	*Noauning tong*
Seven	*Oronglo*	Forty	*Noau foula*
Eight	*Syc*	Fifty	*Noau ſollaning tong*
Nine	*Mouante*	Sixty	*Noau ſabba*
Ten	*Tong*	Seventy	*Noau ſabbaning tong*
Eleven	*Tongning killin* (2)	Eighty	*Noau nani*
Twelve	*Tongning foula*	Ninety	*Noau nanining tong*
Thirteen	*Tongning ſabba*	One hundred	*Kamy*
Fourteen	*Tongning nani*	One thouſand	*Woolly* or *woully*
Fifteen	*Tongning lonlou*		

Hence we ſee that directly the ſame rules prevail in forming the numerals of the Mandingan, Foulian, and Oualo-

(2) In the Mandingan, they uſe the copulative *ning* as ten *and* one.

are absolutely necessary, and of these, smiths and cutlers are the principal; for by these the implements of war, husbandry, and fishing, are made; indeed they comprehend under the general name of ferraro, all the workers in metals. Next in esteem to the ferraro is another artist, called sepatero, whose employment consists in making grisgris, or *cases*, for those charms which the marbuts communicate to the people: this is a very profitable business, the price of labour having no other standard than the superstition of the employer, who would look upon it as the highest impiety to dispute the price of a grisgris, which would imply a contempt of the religion contained in this charm. The third mechanical employment is that of a mason or potter, for here they are all the same, their plaisterers being in truth their masons, likewise their potters, as all earthen ware is made by them. This artist, Labat places next in rank to the ferraro; and he likewise reckons in this class, all the women and girls employed in spinning and weaving cotton cloths, though we must own we cannot perceive the affinity between the employments. The artists in this last way have made but little progress in the trade, being confined entirely to three colours, and incapable of giving their pieces of cotton above two yards in length, and six inches in breadth; which, however, they have the art of joining neatly together, to form a piece of any size, that appears to be one entire web [n].

[n] Jobson, p. 129. Le Maire, p. 157. Labat, tom. ii. p. 188. Barbot, p. 41.

sian, or Jalofian languages, each connecting the decimals by a copulative and repetition of the units; and had authors favoured us with vocabularies of the same words, it is probable, that even from a very few words we might be able to trace the mother language from which all the others have sprung as different dialects, but through time so varied, as scarce to bear any resemblance to the original root. It is the observation of Moore, that the Mandingans use the word *nisa* as a generical term to express animals in general, and of all kinds, as cows, sheep, lions, elephants, and deers, to which they add the species and genders, as nisa moofo, *a cow*. What deserves notice is, that neither of the three languages we have mentioned use any other particle than the copulatives *ak* and *ning*, which, we have observed, correspond with our *and*; the disjunctive is wholly unknown, if we may credit voyagers, who, we fear, are not extremely critical in their remarks; and the gender is determined, not by an article, but the last syllable, or termination.

The

The articles of trade arising from their manufactures, are but inconsiderable, and bought entirely among themselves, except a few mats, pieces of cotton, some earthenware, and other trifles, which the Europeans purchase for the use of the Negroes of the Grain, Ivory, Gold, and Slave Coasts, as well as for those of Kongo, Angola, &c. The mats are manufactured by the women, and constitute the most essential houshold furniture of a Negro, who eats, drinks, sleeps, and indeed dwells upon his mat. This, therefore, is the principal commodity of the country, at least a manufactured commodity. We may judge of the importance of the trade carried on by the Negroes with each other, from what Jobson relates, namely, that he had seen Negroes go ten miles to market with a piece of bar-iron not a foot long, or a yard or two of cotton cloth, not really worth six pence; yet some of them deal more deeply, trafficking in gold dust, gold rings, and other trinkets of value.

Buildings.

The Negro towns and houses bear evident marks of the lazinefs and ignorance of the people; no architecture, no attempts to beauty, order, elegance, or conveniency, are there seen; nor does one generation profit by the faults of a former, but pass on quietly in the beaten track of their ancestors, as if science, taste, and the arts, had already arrived at their highest pitch of perfection among them. A Negro hut is not to be equalled in the poverty and meanness of aspect, nor a town in wretchedness. The former is no more than a little conical cabin, with no other light than what enters by the door, which is so low, that they are forced to crawl in; and even then a man of ordinary stature cannot walk round with any degree of ease, or without hitting his head against the walls. Here they lie, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, servants, and slaves, promiscuously, without regard to modesty, decency, or cleanliness, forming as strong a group of misery, as can well be contained in so narrow a compass. These huts are formed of a kind of wicker work, plaistered over with earth, and joined to each other by colonades, by which means persons of better fashion have distinct and separate apartments for the different parts of their families; and besides a hut to smoke and receive strangers in. We need not describe a town formed by a collection of such magnificent buildings; sufficient it is to observe, that they always build their towns of a circular form, with spiral streets, as if they wanted to perplex their understandings, already abundantly obscure; hence it is, that in a village,

not half a mile in diameter, you must frequently walk two or three miles to visit an acquaintance, when, by an intersected street, the distance might be reduced to a hundred paces. After all, there is something extremely striking in this manner of building, viewed from an eminence, where several miles of a street filled with inhabitants, appear all alive like an ant-hill, within so small a circle. But they have another way of building, without any design at all, as if the houses had been jumbled together by accident [o].

The palace of the damel or king of Kayor, is, indeed, an exception to the general rule the Negroes seem to have established in building, with as little regard to conveniency, ornament, and the common dictates of reason as possible; for this in comparison is really magnificent. The palace is surrounded by a wall, opposite to the first gate of which is a spacious court, for exercising the king's horses, with stables all round. At the farther end is another gate, on each side of which stand the lodgings of the different officers of the court; and from thence you are led through a fine long arbour of fruit-trees, to the royal apartments, on each side of which are the seraglios, or lodgings of his women, with proper offices and apartments for their slaves and servants. His majesty has a private colonade, leading to each apartment; so that it is never known with which of his women he spends the night; a method which he imagines equally secures his person against all plots and contrivances, and prevents jealousy and murmuring among the women. Jobson describes the palace of the king of Kassan, as little inferior in splendor to the foregoing. It is situated in the midst of the capital, and, with the seraglio and offices, composes at least half the city. You enter it by a court surrounded with guards, and pass to a large open hall, where always stands the chair of state, with a drum slung over the back. This, the author informs us, is the only musical instrument he saw in the country, and it serves equally to inspire joy and grief, at funerals or weddings [p].

Negroes of noble extraction, or great wealth, imitate in their buildings the magnificence of the royal palaces, and sometimes surpass them; especially those descended from the Portuguese or Moors, who build entirely in the European taste, but without the least notion of the principles of architecture. A late French writer observes, that

[o] Le Maire, p. 43. [p] Labat, tom. ii. p. 311.

the

the Mandingoes, or Sofes, as they call themſelves, build in a more commodious manner than the reſt. The walls are made of a fat binding clay, that looks ſmooth and hard as porcelain, thatched with ſtraw, which hangs down to another little wall breaſt high; and this makes a ſmall gallery round the hut, where they are ſheltered from the burning rays of the ſun. Mr. Adamſon had ſeen a village that was burnt down a little before his arrival, where the walls that withſtood the violence of the flames, were partly of a beautiful red, and partly vitrified by the intenſe heat of the fire; at a diſtance, the whole ſeemed to be done over with a bright enamel, and equalled the fineſt China porcelain [q].

In ſome parts of the coaſt they build in the following manner. A kind of dove-houſe is erected, by means of reeds faſtened cloſe together, and ſupported by ſtakes driven faſt into the ground. Theſe ſtakes are from five to ſix feet high, and have a round covering of ſtraw of the ſame height, terminating in a point; thus each hut has only a ground floor, of ten, twelve, or fifteen feet in diameter, the only entry being a ſquare hole, about four feet high, but part of that ſpace taken up with a high threſhold, raiſed at leaſt a foot above ground; ſo that in going in, they muſt incline their bodies and raiſe one leg; an attitude not only diſagreeable, but ridiculous [r].

The furniture is exactly ſuitable to the magnificence of the houſe; for it conſiſts wholly of a few earthen pots, called conaris, a few calabaſhes, or gourd-bottles, with wooden bowls, diſhes, plates, and ſuch like utenſils; for as to chairs, tables, and beds, their mats ſupply them all, except one bed for the maſter of the family. This conſiſts of a kind of hurdle, laid upon croſs pieces of wood, and ſupported by forkillas, or ſmall forks, a foot above the ground; over this they throw a mat, which ſerves them for a pailaſſe, or *mattreſs*, and generally for ſheets and clothing; as to pillows they have none.

The laſt mentioned French writer gives the following account of the buildings in the iſland of Senegal. "Here," ſays he, "all the huts belonging to the ſame perſon are incloſed with a wall or palliſade of reeds ſix feet high, to which they give the name of tapade. Though the Negroes obſerve very little ſymmetry in the ſituation of their houſes, yet the French of the iſland of Senegal have taught them to obſerve a certain uniformity in the dimenſions of

[q] Moore, p. 76. 109. [r] Voyage aux Senegal, p. 163.

the

the tapades, which they have regulated in such a manner, as to form a small town, with several streets drawn in a direct line. These streets are indeed not paved; and luckily there is little occasion for it, since they would be greatly at a loss to find the smallest pebbles, for thirty leagues all round. The inhabitants find a greater conveniency in their sandy soil; for as it is very deep and soft, it is their usual seat; it is also their sopha, their couch, and their bed. Besides they congratulate themselves upon another quality it has, namely, that there is no danger in falling; and it is always clean, even after the heaviest rains, because it imbibes the water with such facility, that there needs only an hour of fine weather to dry it. Adamson subjoins to the above account, that this Negro town is by much the handsomest in the whole district, between the rivers Gambia and Senegal, as well as the largest and most regular, containing upwards of three thousand inhabitants; a prodigious number for a Negro town in this part of Africa [3].

Agriculture. We shall quit this subject to make a few observations on the agriculture of the Negroes, which is an employment common to all ranks, the king only and the captains of towns excepted. Their only instrument for tilling the ground is a kind of spade, but more resembling a shovel, with a handle three feet long. Round Gambia, rice is almost the only grain that is sown in the lands overflown in the rainy season. These fields the Negroes intersect with dykes, which with-hold the water in such a manner, that their rice is always moistened; and after the crop is got in, the rice fields resemble drained morasses, on which grow a few wild herbs. But the fertility of the soil, and the labour of the husbandmen, are frequently destroyed by locusts, which here appear in clouds so large, as to darken the sky, and obscure the rays of the sun. Our author relates, that, when he lay in the mouth of the Gambia, in February, 1750, a thick cloud was seen over the ships, which wrought such a change in the sky, as amazed the whole ship's crew, as it is seldom overcast in that season of the year. It was soon perceived to be owing to a swarm of locusts, raised twenty or thirty fathom above the ground, and covering an extent of several leagues, upon which it poured a shower of these insects, which devoured the herbage, while they rested themselves, and then resumed their flight. These little animals, from their num-

[3] Adamson, ibid. Le Maire, p. 101.

ber,

ber, ſpread terror and deſolation wherever they appear; after deſtroying the corn, herbage, leaves, and fruit, they even attack the bark of trees, and the very reeds with which the Negro huts are frequently thatched. Our author, who took a great number, deſcribes them of the breadth and length of a man's finger, of a brown colour, their heads armed with two ſtrong jaws, indented like a ſaw. It would be little imagined, that ſo ſhocking an inſect as this ſhould ever be food for man; but the Negroes ſeem to retaliate upon them, and revenge themſelves for the loſs of their corn and fruit, by eating the deſtroyers. They have a variety of different methods of dreſſing locuſts; ſome pound them and boil them with milk; others only broil them; but all think them excellent eating [t].

Negroes eat locuſts.

The diverſions uſed by the Negroes, at ſeed and reaping time, differ but little from what we have before deſcribed in our account of the agriculture of Whidah, Ardrah, and the Gold Coaſt; we ſhall now only obſerve, that the kings being abſolute proprietors of all the lands in their dominions, every family muſt addreſs themſelves to them, or their alcades, to petition that a portion of land may be aſſigned them for their maintenance; and this the ſon is obliged to repeat, notwithſtanding the eſtate has been ſolemnly and formally granted to the father; ſo that the tenure of all eſtates is immediately from the crown; a law that expoſes the ſubject to the moſt grievous extortion and oppreſſion from the alkades, their mediators with the throne, by whom no ſubject, under the rank of a captain of a town, or ſome rich merchant, has acceſs to the king. This oppreſſion contributes not a little to increaſe the natural indolence of thoſe unhappy Negroes; for they are at little pains to cultivate and improve lands, which they hold by ſo precarious a tenure; nay they hardly till enough to ſupply their wants, but make up the deficiency by roots, fruits, and herbage; and hence we may perceive the reaſon, why they are afflicted with ſuch frequent dearths and famine, of which the Europeans beheld a diſmal, but to them a profitable inſtance, in the year 1675, when fathers ſold themſelves, their wives, and children, only for a little pittance of food, to relieve the immediate cravings of hunger. It merits a pauſe in our narrative, to relate the cauſe of this dreadful want.

Two or three years before the famine, the Negroes had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by the ſpecious promiſes

t Adamſon, ibid.

of

of one of their marbuts, of the tribe of Azougue, who, under the veil of religion, became master of all the dominions of the siratick and damel. This impostor had found means to persuade them into a belief of his having been commissioned by Heaven to revenge the tyranny of their princes; and he promised to perform miracles in confirmation of his authority: but what made the deepest impression on the minds of those lazy barbarians, was the assurance he gave, that every season should produce an abundant crop, without the labour and toil of their hands. So flattering an offer was too powerful to be resisted by a people of their indolent disposition; they ranged themselves under the banner of the marbut, threw off their allegiance to the siratick and damel, neglected their fields, and patiently waited for two years the performance of the holy impostor's liberal promises; the consequence was the most calamitous famine that had ever been felt by any people; they not only sold but eat their nearest relations, and the stronger, like wild beasts, preyed upon the weaker. At length their eyes were opened, the marbuts were driven out of the country, but soon after recalled, by the intrigues and machinations of the fraternity [u].

A terrible famine.

We have already sufficiently described the arms of the Negroes, to which we shall add, that, in general they use a kind of shield or target, of an oval form, covered with the skin of an elephant, tyger, or lion, which they call dansa, extremely burthensome, but useful to ward off their poisoned darts and arrows. Every soldier carries his provision in a bag or knapsack slung behind, the army being incommoded with no convoys of ammunition and provision as in other parts of the world; indeed, the shortness of their marches and expeditions renders a large stock of these entirely unnecessary, as they are seldom exposed to any great difficulties or hardships. Negro armies in these countries are composed of horse and foot, with very little difference in the nature of their arms or manner of fighting; the cavalry as well as infantry being often forced to fight on foot, and join in close battle, though in general they are used for expedition to surprise the enemy, and make sudden attacks on their wings and rear. Their horses are bought from the Moors, their neighbours; they are small, but full of fire and spirit, greatly resembling the horses of Barbary and Arabia, of which they are probably descended. They frequently sell for

Negro militia and soldiery.

[u] Auct. citat. ibid.

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ten or twelve ſlaves, worth near a hundred pounds ſterling. It is incredible what feats of activity they will perform on horſeback; one we ſhall relate, on the authority of Moore, which may the more readily be believed, as it falls infinitely ſhort of what we are told by the Arabs, by that excellent philoſopher and phyſician Proſper Alpinus, and ſeveral other hiſtorians. He once ſaw the kondi, or lieutenant-general of Kayor, gallop at full ſpeed on a ſwift barb, ſtanding upright in his ſtirrups, and throwing his lance with an incredible force at any object that preſented itſelf, which he afterwards took up in his courſe with the utmoſt facility. What is moſt remarkable, he could hit an apple at the diſtance of fifty paces. He likewiſe ſaw him ſtoop at full ſpeed, and take up his lance from the ground, with all the elegance and eaſe of the moſt natural motion. It is a common practice among Negro cavaliers to ride at a full gallop, ſtanding on the horſe's back, to vault into their ſeat, to raiſe themſelves ſtrait up again, to throw themſelves with one hand on the ground, and again to recover the ſaddle, without the leaſt pain or danger [w]. They are very expert in making ſaddles, which they finely embroider with various colours; among theſe their charmed griſgris and kowris make no ſmall part of the ornaments. Notwithſtanding what authors aſſert, it is probable that they purchaſe the ſaddles with the horſes from the Moors, as their ingenuity greatly exceeds every other branch of Negro manufacture. Yet after all, with theſe advantages of fine horſes, arms, capariſons, and expert riders, the Negroes are but poor warriors, and ſeem to loſe all that addreſs, dexterity, and preſence of mind in the field, which is the admiration of all who behold them in the ring or on the parade.

The extraordinary feats of horſemen.

The religion of thoſe nations on both ſides the river Senegal, and ſtretching eaſt and ſouth into the interior countries, is Mohammediſm, brought among them by the Moors, and ſpreading with that rapidity peculiar to falſe doctrines. All the other Negroes, from the river Gambia to the weſtern extremity of Guinea Proper, or Cape Tagrin, are idolaters, except, ſays Labat, the Sereres, who may be reckoned a ſpecies of ſavages, without any idea at all of religion, either true or falſe. Le Maire affirms, that many of the inhabitants of Sierra Leona profeſs no religion, have no gods or object of worſhip, while others ſacrifice to the devil, to ſtones, ſtocks, toads, and

Religion of the Negroes.

[w] Moore, p. 121.

ſerpents,

ſerpents, being in this reſpect ſimilar to the Whidans. A cow is the ſacrifice they uſually offer to the devil; and though they believe in the tranſmigration of the animative principle of brutes, yet they eat the fleſh [x]. Many Negroes will not ſuffer the lizards, which crawl in heaps round the houſe, to be killed. for in them they firmly believe the ſoul of a father, mother, brother, or ſiſter, may reſide, and now comes to keep folgan, or to rejoice with them. The Mohammediſm profeſſed by the Negroes is imperfect, both from the ignorance of the teachers, as well as the licentiouſneſs of the proſelytes, and conſiſts entirely in a belief of the unity of the Godhead, in the obſervance of the ramadan, biram, circumciſion, and a few other ceremonies. Jobſon tells us that the nations on both ſides the Gambia adore one God, whoſe image they will not ſuffer to be ſtained, painted, carved, or in any way repreſented, believing his idea to be incomprehenſible, which they ſignify, according to this writer, by his name Allah. They believe in the miſſion of Mohammed, but never invoke or pray to him. They reckon the year by the rainy ſeaſons, have names for every particular day of the week, making Friday their Sunday, which they obſerve with ſo little ſuperſtition, that the ordinary employment of week days is never interrupted, and they go on in the ſame regular courſe of buſineſs as if the day was not enjoined to be kept holy [y].

Theſe Negroes have ſome confuſed notions of Jeſus, acknowleging, like the Mohammedans, that he was a great prophet, but denying his divinity, and allowing him to be deſervedly famous on account of the miracles he wrought; but holding it blaſphemy to call him the ſon of God, becauſe, ſay they, it is impoſſible that God ſhould become viſible and corporeal. They call him Nale, and his mother Mary, affirming that he was a holy, juſt, pious, and wiſe man, which qualities he had in a tranſcendent degree, as a man, but far, infinitely far ſhort of the divinity; but they are above all ſhocked at the doctrine of the incarnation, which they deem abominable, and an implication that the Almighty had carnal knowlege of a woman.

They believe in predeſtination, and place all their miſfortunes, croſſes, and loſſes, to the account of Providence. Does one Negro aſſaſſinate another? God they imagine is

[x] Ubi ſupra. Jobſon, p. 67.

[y] Labat, tom. ii. p. 271. Le Maire, p. 90.

the

the author of the murder; notwithſtanding which they ſeize the murderer, and ſell him as a ſlave. With regard to the devotions and form of worſhip of the Negroes, Le Maire ſays, that the common people have no regular courſe of practice that can be called religious worſhip; but perſons of rank affect more zeal, and are never without their marbut, who has great influence over their ſecret thoughts and practice. They have neither temples, moſques, nor churches, but aſſemble to perform acts of devotion in the open air, under the ſhade of a large tree, in imitation of a ſtrange marbut, that had once been ſeen in the country, who prayed with no other canopy than the ſky, waſhed in the river Gambia, and departed.

The Turks and rigid Mohammedans pray or perform their ſala five times every day and night through the week, and ſeven times on their ſabbath; but the Negro Mohammedans content themſelves with performing that exerciſe twice, in a week-day, and thrice on the ſabbath. Every village has its marbut or *parſon*, who aſſembles them to their devotion, and after he has given abſolution from the Koran, they range themſelves behind him, in order the better to imitate his movements, geſtures, and grimaces, with their faces turned to the eaſt; but when they are tired of this poſture, they ſquat down on their hams, and turn to the weſt. The marbut extending his arms, repeats ſome words, ſo ſlow and loud, as to be diſtinctly heard and repeated after him by the audience, who fall on their knees, kiſs the earth three times, and exactly copy him in all his actions. The marbut then falls a fourth time on his knees, and prays for a quarter of an hour, in ſilence, after which he riſes, and drawing with his finger a circle round him, he marks within it a number of characters, which he kiſſes with profound reverence, leaning his head upon his hands, and fixing his eyes on the earth in the attitude of deep meditation. In the end, taking a handful of ſand or duſt, he throws it about his face and head, and begins to pray aloud, and to touch the earth with his finger, raiſing it afterwards up to his head; during the performance of all which ceremonies he repeats three times the words ſalati malek, then riſing off his knees, he is followed by the audience, and they all retire. We have been more minute in deſcribing the ceremonies uſed in prayer, as they differ conſiderably from thoſe obſerved by the two great ſects of Mohammedans; and indeed, are a kind of mixed mode of religion, formed by the fancy of the prieſt, and no way conſtant

or

or uniform in the minutia of external duties. They perform ablution with earth, which they rub over their bodies instead of water. De Brue had the curiosity to interrogate the marbuts concerning the reasons upon which all these ceremonies were founded; and their answer was, that they worshipped one true God, before whom they prostrated themselves; that this humiliation was a confession of their dependence on the will of the Supreme Being, without whom they were nothing; that their prayers were offered to petition the forgiveness of their sins, and the use of all those conveniences of life of which they stood in need, such as beautiful women, children, plentiful crops, victory over their enemies, a good fish season, health, and security against every kind of danger [z].

The Negro Mohammedans, who inhabit round Senegal, have their ramadan fixed to the month of September, though among the Moors it is a moveable feast; for they salute the first appearance of the harvest moon, as we call it, by lifting their hands and eyes up to heaven, turning their heads round with as much velocity as if it was fixed on a pivot, and repeating that motion three times; but this is all the regard they pay to the moon, with which they neither begin nor end the ramadan, though they otherwise observe it with great austerity of devotion. They neither eat nor drink till after sun-set; devotees will not even swallow their spittle, and cover their mouths, to prevent any thing from entering into them; nay, they even deny themselves the use of a pipe, notwithstanding their extreme passion for smoking; but when night comes, they solace themselves with a joy proportioned to the rigor of the day's abstinence, and eat, drink, smoke, dance, and sing till the return of the sun. The great and the rich pass the whole day in sleep, and the night in pleasure [a].

Janequin expresses his surprize that nature can support the abstinence of the day, and the fatigue, debauchery, and want of rest of the night; but habit inures them to it; even the common people, who hardly shut their eyes in the day, are punished for the smallest transgression with the bastinade. Towards the close of the ramadan they proclaim the tabasket, the greatest festival observed by Mohammedan Negroes, and the same with that the Turks and Persians call biram; of this De Brue, who saw it celebrated, gives the following description. A little be-

[z] Auct. citat. ibid. Janequin, p. 110. [a] Barbot, p. 53. Janequin, ubi supra. Froger, p. 20.

fore

fore ſun-ſet ſix marbuts, clothed in looſe white robes or ſurplices, appear, marching in ſolemn proceſſion, with long darts in their hands, and preceded by five large bullocks, covered with cotton cloths, crowned with leaves or garlands, and led each by two Negroes. The five chiefs of the villages that compoſe the town of Buckſon, followed the prieſts in a line, dreſſed in their richeſt apparel, armed with darts, ſwords, and bucklers. They were again followed by all the inhabitants of the villages, their ſubjects drawn up in five lines. As ſoon as the proceſſion reached the borders of the river, the oxen were tied to ſtakes, and the oldeſt marbut pronounced the words ſala malek, with a loud diſtinct voice, upon which, laying his dart on the ground, he turned his face to the eaſt, the other prieſts following his example, and all pronounced a prayer in concert, after which they roſe and reſumed their weapons. The Negroes were then ordered to throw down the oxen on their backs, and to fix their horns in the ground, which being done in an inſtant, the prieſts cut their throats, and threw duſt in their eyes to prevent their ſeeing the blood while it flows, which is deemed an inauſpicious omen. After the ſacrifice was concluded, and the blood all run out, the cattle were cut down, and each village carried off the pieces belonging to its own ox. On their return to the town the folgan begins, the women and girls firſt preſenting themſelves, divided into four bands, each attended by guirots of the ſame ſex, who ſing certain verſes ſuited to the occaſion, to which the bands echo a chorus, and then begin dancing round a great fire, lighted in the middle of the area, and the ceremony proceeds in the manner we have lately deſcribed. Such is their paſſion for theſe diverſions, that a Negro who is ſpent with the labour of the day, comes to refreſh himſelf with five or ſix hours violent dancing at night, and this feſtival continues for three days.

Circumciſion is a practice rigorouſly obſerved by the Negroes. The operation is here performed upon a great number of male children aſſembled together, when thoſe of the king, or any man of quality, have arrived at the proper age, which is four or five years. It is neceſſary that all their ſubjects and dependents bring their children on this occaſion; for the grandeur of the feſtival conſiſts in the number of operations; and the great rival each other, who ſhall produce the moſt brilliant aſſembly. One good conſequence flows from this practice; for, at the circumciſion feaſt, the young people contract ſuch ſolid

alliances, as continue firm for the remainder of their lives. It would be unneceſſary to repeat the ceremonies attending this operation, as the reader will find a full account of it in De Brue, for it differs in little from the ramadan, the ſame ſacrifices, prayers, and folgan, being obſerved. Janequin affirms, that, for ſeveral months after this feaſt, the young people may take what liberty they pleaſe with the girls, and indeed we doubt not but they are permitted to do this at all times during that age, without danger of raviſhment, which is the only reſtriction upon them, according to that writer. If there be any truth in this relation, it is probable that all children are not circumciſed ſo young as we are made to believe; and this ſeems to be confirmed by the obſervation of De Brue, that they affect gaiety and mirth during the operation, and are emulous who ſhall ſuſtain the pain with the greateſt fortitude; and Moore in one place ſays, that a little before the rainy ſeaſon, they circumciſe a number of boys about fourteen years old.

The Mandingoes believe that eclipſes of the moon are occaſioned by the interpoſition of a large cat, which puts her paw between the moon and the earth; and during theſe occaſions they ſpend their time in dancing and ſinging in honour of their prophet Mohammed [b]. In general, the Negroes of this country are no leſs addicted to ſuperſtitions than thoſe of the Guinea Coaſt. They never intend any expedition but they ſacrifice a pullet; and the obſervations made on the entrails determine them either to purſue or drop it. They are rivetted in their notion of lucky and unlucky days, and nothing will prevail upon them to undertake an affair of importance on the latter. Moore relates, that when he was in the country, which happened to be an unhealthy ſeaſon, the people firmly believed that the air was infected by the black arts of ſorcerers; no death happening but what was laid to the charge of thoſe enemies of mankind, except one perſon, who died ſo miſerably, that they placed his death to the account of the devil, for having falſified his vow, and broken a ſolemn engagement. The cuſtom of making vows, and of wearing large bracelets to remind them of what they ſwore, is extremely frequent. One vows he will make a preſent of ſuch a ſlave, and that he may not ſell him through forgetfulneſs, he wears bracelets on his arm, till it is convenient to fulfil his engagement; and to

[b] Idem ibid. Labat, ubi ſupra.

fail

fail in this particular, will, they believe, be followed by some immediate judgment from heaven. But of all their superstitions, the most general and remarkable are their grisgris, which, Le Maire says, are certain Arabic characters mixed with necromantic figures, drawn by the marbuts on paper. Labat affirms, that they are nothing more than scraps of the Alcoran in Arabic; but this Barbot denies, and confirms his opinion by positive proofs; for having brought over to Europe one of these grisgris, and shewn it to a number of persons deeply skilled in the Oriental learning, none of them could find the least trace of any character they understood; yet after all, this might be owing to the badness of the hand-writing, and the words are probably Mandingo, though the characters are an attempt to imitate the Arabic. The poorest Negro never goes to war without his grisgris, as a charm against wounds, and if it prove ineffectual, the marbut transfers the blame on the immorality of his conduct. Those cheats invent grisgris against all kinds of dangers, and in favour of all desires and appetites; by virtue of which the possessors may obtain or avoid whatever they like or dislike. They defend them from storms, enemies, diseases, pains, and misfortunes, and preserve health, long life, wealth, honour, and merit, if we credit the marbuts; certain it is, that those priests find all the benefit of the boasted virtues of their grisgris, no clergy in the globe being more revered, honoured, or wealthy, according to the ideas of wealth they entertain here; and no wonder, as they impoverish the people by the exorbitant price they exact for their knavish charms, a grisgris being frequently valued at three slaves, and four or five oxen [c].

Such of these pious ornaments as are intended for the head, are made in form of a cross, reaching from the forehead to the neck behind, and from ear to ear; nor are the arms and shoulders neglected. Sometimes they are planted in their bonnets in the form of horns, at other times they are made like serpents, lizards, or some other animal, cut out of a kind of pasteboard: in a word, they are of forms as various as the purposes for which they are intended. Many Europeans, and otherwise intelligent seamen and merchants, are in some degree infected with this weakness of the country. They believe that the Negro sorcerers have an actual communication with the devil, and that they are filled by the malignant influence of the evil

[c] Labat, ubi supra.

ſpirit, when they ſee them diſtort their features and muſcles, make horrid grimaces, and at laſt imitate all the appearance of epileptics. To theſe charms and necromantic arts they add another bug-bear, which they call mumbo jumbo, intended by the Mandingoes to keep their women in obedience and ſubmiſſion. This is no other than a large idol, which the women are ſimple enough to believe, or cunning enough to pretend, they take for a human ſavage, who watches all their actions, and can even penetrate into their moſt ſecret thoughts. The huſband gets behind this ſtatue in the night, and makes a dreadful bellowing, which they ſuppoſe iſſues from the idol; and of this ſome of them make a very artful uſe; for, perſuading their huſbands that they firmly believe in the attributes given to the mumbo jumbo, their conduct is entirely committed to his care, the huſband takes his pleaſure abroad, and the women enjoy the ſociety of their gallants, free from all alarms and diſcoveries. Some of them are, however, ſimple enough to credit what their huſbands aſſert, and then they try to bribe over the idol to favour them. Moore relates, that this part is acted by a Negro, and commonly by the favourite ſlave of his maſter; hence he acquires an abſolute dominion in the family over the women, in conſequence of his function, and over the maſter, from an apprehenſion that ill uſage will make him reveal the ſecret of ſo much conſequence to the ſupport of the huſband's authority, and preſervation of the women's honour [d].

In the year 1727, the king of Jagro had a woman, whoſe curioſity could only be equalled by his weak fondneſs in diſcovering to her the whole myſtery of the mumbo jumbo, for which ſhe had long eagerly ſolicited; but with the indiſcretion uſual in her ſex, ſays our author, ſhe was ſcarcely in poſſeſſion, when ſhe haſtened to reveal it to all the other women. The report ſoon came to the ears of the chief Negro lords, who were before but ill-affected to the king's perſon, and now ſhocked with a weakneſs of ſuch conſequence to them all. They therefore aſſembled to deliberate upon the neceſſary meaſures, in an affair ſo critical; and not doubting but their women would throw off their allegiance, and live in a perpetual ſtate of rebellion and infidelity, if the terror of the mumbo jumbo was once removed, they determined upon a very bold ſtep, which they executed with equal reſolution: they aſſum-

d Le Maire, p. 64. Moore, p. 116. Le Maire, p. 93.

ed

ed that air of authority peculiar to persons who take upon them a religious office, or act in a religious cause; and going to the palace, ordered the king to come before the idol or mumbo jumbo. The weak prince, not daring to refuse the summons, obeyed; and after being severely censured by the bug-bear, he was ordered to produce all his women. No sooner had they made their appearance, than they were instantly assassinated by order of the mumbo jumbo; and thus this almost fatal discovery was suppressed, before it made its way out of the king's family.

Such as are initiated in the mystery of the mumbo jumbo, take a solemn oath not to reveal it to the women, or any other Negroes who are not of the society[e]. They cannot be admitted before a certain age; the people swear by that idol, and no oath is observed with more solemnity and respect.

Account of the marbuts.

We come now to speak of the marbuts, that numerous ecclesiastical body, once driven out of the siratick, but now restored, with additional immunities, more than sufficient to wipe off their disgrace. In their habit they differ but little from the laity on common occasions, though altogether another people as to other circumstances. Jobson observes, that in their private œconomy, and the general conduct of life, they have nothing in common with the rest of the world, all being formal, affected, stiff, and designing, a regular series of the most refined hypocrisy and priestly cunning. The marbuts have towns, and even whole provinces, sequestered from the state for their maintenance, into which they admit no other Negroes but their slaves, employed in tilling the lands, and cultivating their grain, fruits, roots, and all the other necessaries of life. They marry entirely among themselves, never making any alliances with the rest of the people, and all their male children are born priests, and bred to the mysteries of the function; particular care being taken in instructing them in the principles of the Levitical law, upon which many of their ceremonies are founded, and to which, next to the Koran, they pay the highest respect. With regard to other regulations of marriage among the marbuts, authors talk but vaguely, observing in general that polygamy is permitted, and every thing else that is customary with the laity; though, if we may credit their oldest and best historian[f], their usages are kept a profound secret from the vulgar. In many respects, however, their conduct de-

[e] Moore, ibid. [f] Leo African. p. 23.

ſerves the higheſt encomiums: they ſtrictly obſerve thoſe laws of the Koran relating to abſtinence and temperance, careſully avoiding every exceſs in eating, and never touching wine and ſpirituous liquors; they cheriſh commerce, are honeſt and fair in their dealings with each other, as if they would by this equity atone for the frauds they commit on the people. Charity is a virtue which they never violate among each other, though it never extends to that univerſal benevolence which alone renders it valuable; and they will never permit any of their ſociety to be ſent into ſlavery: if he has offended againſt the laws, they puniſh him agreeable to the inſtitutions, or, as we may call them, the canons of their church.

Theſe good qualities, though blended with ſtrong vices, are the cement which firmly binds the fabric of this inſtitution, and procures the reſpect of kings as well as of the vulgar. If a marbut is met on the road by perſons of the firſt diſtinction, they form a circle round him, fall upon their knees in prayer, and receive his benediction, which cuſtom is obſerved even in the palaces of kings when a prieſt enters[z]. The Mandingo marbuts ſpend a great part of their time in the inſtruction of their children; and Jobſon relates, that he had ſeen ſchools and ſeminaries which contained ſome hundreds of youth, where they are taught to read, write, to expound the Koran, the principles of the Levitical law, the nature of the marbut ſociety, how it is connected with the body politic, and yet a ſeparate community, with ſuch other knowlege as is faſhionable among them: but what they inſtil with their firſt milk, is, an inviolable regard and attachment to the intereſts of the ſociety, profound ſecrecy, gravity, and a reſerved converſation and conduct, together with ſobriety, temperance, and the principles of morals, at leaſt as far as it regards the good order of the fraternity, and commands the reſpect of the laity.

Their children are taught to read and write, upon a little book formed of a ſmooth hard wood; the latter by drawing the characters themſelves, and the former by reading certain characters reſembling Arabic, wrote down by their tutors. They uſe a kind of black ink, formed from the bark of a tree, and a pen reſembling a pencil, or rather the ſtylus, or pen of the ancients, with which they wrote upon their waxed tables. Some authors allege, that their characters reſemble the Hebrew more than the Ara-

z Tom. iii. 353.

bic;

bic; but all agree, that their laws are written in a language totally different from the vulgar tongue. We are told, that the great volume of the marbut laws or institutions, regarding the ſociety, is a manuſcript, of which they take copies for their private uſe. If we may credit Jobſon, it is not in their own ſchools, and to their own children only, that the marbuts communicate their knowlege, but to whole provinces, and without diſtinction to every youth they meet. They travel, according to him, with books and families from province to province, teaching wiſdom and religion wherever they paſs, and enforcing their doctrine equally by precept and example. Every town is open to them, and the marbut travels whole kingdoms, unmoleſted, in the heat of the bloodieſt wars. Writers differ with reſpect to their manner of travelling, ſome affirming, that, like mendicants, they live upon the alms which they receive from every family; while others are no leſs poſitive, that they ſupport themſelves by trade, and the ſale of griſgris, aſking no other alms than ſcraps of paper, which they convert into ſolid food and raiment by virtue of thoſe myſterious characters with which they impreſs them. Certain it is, that they carry on the richeſt commerce of the country, eſpecially the marbuts of Setiko, who trade deeply in gold, ſlaves, and griſgris; and this may be one end of their progreſſes through different kingdoms, as well as the inſtructing the ignorant, and the performance of their apoſtolical function. Their chief branch of trade is gold, which they draw from the interior countries of Nigritia, and the extremities of Libya and Barbary, in exchange for their griſgris. Such is their avarice, that they hoard up large treaſures, deep hidden in the ground, to be buried with them, under the pretext of religion, reſerving in public only what is ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes of nature, the gratification of their ambition or pride, and the purchaſing of the Portugueſe a kind of blue ſtone, which their women wear round their waiſts, as a preſervative againſt hæmorrhages, to which they are ſubject; or from the other Europeans ſuch articles of luxury as may be wanted to keep up the eſteem and veneration of the people. To conclude this ſection, and our account of this extraordinary ſociety, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that they throw all the obſtructions they are able, and croſs by every poſſible means the endeavours of the Europeans to penetrate to the ſource of the river Gambia, apprehenſive that their ſucceſs might leſſen their trade, and render them leſs neceſſary. They repreſented

to Jobson the hazards and difficulties of such an enterprize, with so much zeal and warmth, that, with all his partiality to them, he could not help attributing their excessive friendship to selfish views [z].

SECT IV.

Containing a geographical View of the great River Gambia, and the frequent Attempts made to discover its Source; the Trade which the Europeans carry on with the Kingdoms situated along its Banks; a Description of the English and other European Forts and Settlements established thereon; and an Account of their Wars, and various Changes and Revolutions, and the Endeavours used by each to maintain or improve their Commerce; with a Narrative of the Settlement on the Island of Goree, &c. &c.

Of the names given to the river Gambia.

THE vast river Gambia was formerly known by the name of Gambro; an appellation still retained by the French. Cada Mosto, the first writer who speaks of it, always gives it this name. Marmol says, that by the Negroes it is called Gambu; but he sometimes writes it Gambra, and at other times Gamboa. Jobson prefers the former: but affirms, that the Negroes always call it Gee or Ji, that is, *the river*, by way of pre-eminence; for which reason likewise the Portuguese gave it the name of Rio Grande, in common with another more to the southward. However, as it is commonly known to Englishmen by the name Gambia, which in fact is a corruption of Gambra, this we shall retain, and avoid all disputes concerning the etymon, which, after all our labour, would still remain doubtful [a].

Its course.

Authors are no less divided concerning its source than name, some affirming it to be a branch of the Niger, while others, with more probability, assert, that it can possibly have no communication with it, as it certainly runs through the lake Sapor and the kingdom of Yo or Eyo, bordering on Dahomay, a prodigious course of near two thousand miles. Marmol calls it the same river which Ptolemy lays down under the name of Estachiris, in which tract it must

z Vide auct. citat. ibid. a Tom. ii. apud incit. Labat. tom. iv. cap. 18. Marmol Hist. de l'Afriq. lib. ix.

be

be divided from the Niger by a prodigious ridge of hills running north and ſouth; and ſo indeed it is laid down by that accurate geographer Mr. Bolton, in his correction of D'Anville. Labat has ſpent ſeveral pages upon this ſubject, which he drops after having thoroughly perplexed and bewildered his readers; and, to avoid falling into the ſame error, we ſhall here take our leave of it, as offering conjectures might afford opportunities for diſplaying our genius, but very little improvement to our readers, all the attempts towards this diſcovery having hitherto been abortive, and the interior parts of Africa too little known to determine any thing from the ſituation of the country; we ſhall proceed therefore to a deſcription of this river, as far as it has been navigated by Europeans; for as to the accounts of the natives they merit little regard [b].

Situation, breadth, depth, and navigable length.

The river Gambia, or Gamby, diſcharges itſelf in the ocean between Cape Verd and Cape Roxo; or, to ſpeak with more preciſion, between Cape Saint Mary on the ſouth, and Bird or Broken Iſland on the north; the diſtance between theſe being ſix leagues; but as the river is divided by a great number of iſlands and ſand-banks, its broadeſt channel does not exceed three leagues; and Barbot reduces it to as many miles. At Joar, fifty leagues up the river, it is a mile broad, and eaſily acceſſible to a ſhip of three or four hundred tons, or to a forty gun ſhip, as Labat expreſſes it; and even at Barakkonda, five hundred miles, or two hundred and fifty leagues, according to Labat, from the ſea, it is navigable for ſhips of one hundred and fifty tons burthen. The ſeaſon for making this voyage is from December to the month of June, during which time the river flows in a ſmooth, equal, and not rapid courſe; but for the reſt of the year is difficult, if not impoſſible, on account of the prodigious ſwell, occaſioned by the rains that fall with ſuch violence in theſe countries; and this is one great advantage which the river Senegal has over the Gambia.

Frequent attempts have been made to penetrate to the ſource of the Gambia, and by means of theſe voyages its navigation came to be ſo well known, and ſome little acquaintance made with the ſtates more immediately bordering upon its banks, which however are too inconſiderable to merit a place in hiſtory.

[b] Ibid.

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It is well known that the Gambia forms a number of curvatures and windings between the sea and the kingdom of Kantor, four hundred miles above Barrakkonda, where it is supposed to pass through a stagnated lake, inaccessible to shipping, on account of the reeds, leaves, and herbage, that float so thick upon its surface as to give it the appearance of dry land. This, however, is no more than the account of the natives; for no Europeans ever penetrated so far. The English have made frequent attempts to discover its source, all of them unsuccessful, as they never went farther than Barakkonda, at least with any certainty or advantage. It is possible that they were stopt by cataracts, shoals, or other obstructions, as they affirm, and were told by the marbuts; though many of the more intelligent deny that there are any impediments for some hundred miles farther. First captain Thompson, and after him Jobson, in the year 1618, went a hundred leagues in boats beyond the cataract of Barakkonda; but having neglected to take the soundings and other particulars, their labour was attended with little advantage, serving only to gratify their curiosity (D). Vermaden and some other seamen penetrated, as far in the reign of Charles the Second; but to much the same effect. In 1713 the royal African company, desirous of obtaining all possible certainty on this head, employed a number of small vessels on the discovery, under the direction of Mr. Thomas Harrison, their chief agent at James Fort. This gentleman pursued his course to Fatadenda, after which he committed the care of the expedition to John Peach, giving him a small vessel to proceed on the voyage, and returning himself to James Fort, where Moore saw him. His deputy likewise, after having gone within twenty miles of Barakkonda, was forced to return for want of provisions, or perhaps of resolution to prosecute the design [c].

From James Island, near the mouth of the river, to Barakkonda, the soundings are never less than four fathoms and a half water in the shallowest part of the true chan-

[c] Moore, p. 298. Labat, tom. iv. cap. 18.

(D) It may be proper to observe, that all the French translators of this paragraph of Jobson's relation, Prevost, Labat, and Marmol, seem to have copied from each other the mistake of the first translator, who rendered the English preposition *above* by the French *au dessous*, instead of *au dessus*, a blunder which greatly alters the sense of the author.

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nel, and generally from five to eleven. The river is enriched with a number of beautiful islands, some of them covered with wood, and filled with animals, which frequently render it extremely narrow, but balance that inconveniency by adding to the depth, the water being there confined within narrower limits. Yet with all this depth of water, Labat says, that it is necessary to keep always sounding, especially near the entrance, as the river is filled with shoals and sand-banks, frequently dangerous without this precaution.

First establishment of the European trade.

As the English carry on the chief traffick with the natives of Gambia, we shall begin with describing their settlements upon this river, though the time cannot well be determined when they first began to frequent it, nor who the first Europeans were that established this commerce. Labat is positive, that the merchants of Dieppe and Roan were not only acquainted with, but considerable traders on the Gambia, before the Portuguese began their discoveries in Asia and Africa. However, as the Normans found it less advantageous than the traffick with the coast of Guinea, which made great returns to France in gold and ivory, they always pursued it with less zeal, and at last totally abandoned it for their establishments on the southern coast of Africa. At that time the slave-trade was not opened, nor the merchants of Mandingo and the interior countries accustomed to bring their merchandize of gold, ivory, &c. to the very mouth of the river.

In process of time the Portuguese, eager in pursuit of discoveries, and whatever could contribute to the advancement of trade, occupied those places abandoned by the Normans, and established factories, not only along the coasts, but in the interior kingdoms, and along the banks of the Gambia, as high as the English trade at present; an assertion that is proved by the ruins of many forts in different places; which is more than the French can urge in support of their claim, though it might be difficult to prove a negative. Notwithstanding the confusion introduced into their affairs, by a perpetual state of hostilities and wars with the other European nations, and the loss of a number of valuable factories, they still retain a considerable commerce with the interior countries Bintam, Cacho, and Bissao, where they trade with the French, English, and Dutch, as natives, getting the produce of the country in return for European merchandize; but this progeny of the ancient Portuguese is now so blended as hardly to be distinguished from the original inhabitants.

At

Settlement of the English company.

At length the English succeeded the Portuguese in the trade of the river Gambia, seizing upon a number of advantageous posts which the others had relinquished; and have, for a series of years, fortified themselves on a small island between Albreda and Gilfrai, situated at the distance of four leagues, according to Labat, or six miles, by Moore's calculation, from the mouth of the river. Here they have built a fort, which might be rendered extremely strong, could they secure their magazines and water against bombs; the want of which precaution occasioned its being taken, pillaged, demolished, and razed to the ground, by the French, and afterwards by pirates, or the Forbars; a loss which the company could never recover without the aid of parliament, and the public countenance offered them. We shall speak of this transaction after having described the fort, and enumerated the other settlements on this great river.

The next establishment of the English company is on the river Kabata, falling into the Gambia almost opposite to James Island, on the north side of the kingdom of Kambo, and south side of the river; but here the trade is inconsiderable, the chief purpose of the factory being to furnish James Fort with provisions. On the north side the river, opposite to James Island, stands the English factory Jilfray, or Gillefree, a little east of the French house at Albreda. This place is pleasantly situated, and supplies James Fort with all kinds of vegetables. Here it is that the monarch of Barra exacts a duty upon all shipping that pass up the river, to which the English have been forced to submit. The fourth English factory is at Vintain, or Bintam, upon a river of the same name, falling into the Gambia about six miles above James Fort. The chief commerce of this little factory, within the jurisdiction of the king of Fouia, consists in wax, ivory, and hides. Eight miles farther up the river we meet with the fifth factory, called Jereja, situated in a kingdom of the same name; a place affording little trade besides wax, of which there is great abundance, but indifferent in the quality. In the year 1731, the English company established a factory at Kalaor, on a river of the same name, in the dominions of the king of Barra; but perceiving the trade to fall short of their expectations, they relinquished it two years afterwards. The same year as the former, a house was settled at Tankeoval, in the kingdom of Caën, on the south side of the river Gambia; the principal object of which is the wax trade. Something higher up the river

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we meet with the factory of Joar, situated three miles up the country, in the territory of the king of Barsalli. There is not on the whole river a more flourishing trade than is carried on by this town and factory, as the Mandingo merchants, going and returning to and from Galam and Tombuto, take this place in their way; and on the opposite or north side of the river stands Yaui, or Yaui Marow, another factory belonging to the African company: but here they have no more than a little house and one Negro agent to supply James Fort with corn. Higher up, in the little kingdom of Jemarrow, stands the company's factory of Brako, built in 1732, burnt by accident, rebuilt in the same year, and relinquished in 1735. The company's eleventh settlement is at Mattejor, a mile from the river on the north side, in the kingdom of Upper Yaui. It being overthrown by an inundation of the river in the year 1725, the company ordered the factory to be removed to Sami, where it now remains, the situation being a little removed since, but the name preserved Still higher up, in the kingdom of Tomani, south of Gambia, stands the thirteenth factory, called Yamyakonda; destroyed by a flooding of the river in 1733, but since rebuilt by order of the company. Its trade consists in slaves and ivory, of which it sends great quantities to James Fort. The last settlement of the company is Fatadenda; at which place, situated at least four hundred and eighty-four miles from the sea, the river is as broad, as the Thames at Tilbury Fort, and proportionably deep. Here the Gambia with its beautiful windings forms a most delightful prospect, to be equalled only by the verdure of the trees, and fertility of the adjacent country of Kantor, several provinces of which are surrounded on three sides by those delightful curvatures of the river [d].

As none of these factories are considerable enough to merit a particular description, we shall return to Fort James, commonly called James Fort, and lay before the reader all we can learn of this head-settlement, either from writers or private intelligence. This fort is situated in a small island of the same name, standing in the middle of the Gambia, the whole breadth of the river being here about seven miles. The island is the property of the company; but subject to a small tribute to the king of Barra. In circuit the island is about three quarters of a mile, the fort regular, and defended by four batteries,

[d] Moore, Labat, ubi supra. Prevost, tom. iv. lib. ii. cap. 2.

each

each mounting seven pieces of cannon, which command the river on every side. Under the walls of the fort, facing the water on all hands, are erected two batteries, mounted with four twenty-four ponders each, and between both are planted smaller guns for salutes: the whole artillery of the fort amounting to forty-five pieces of cannon. Within the walls are contained a number of very commodious apartments for the governor, chief merchants, factor, writers, and military officer: the lower apartments being employed in magazines and storehouses. The garrison ought to be composed of one officer, one serjeant, two corporals, a gunner, his deputy, and thirty soldiers: but the diseases attributed by authors to the pernicious habit of drinking of spirits to excess, greatly diminish the complement, aud reduce the men to the most deplorable situation. This is a fact asserted by all writers, English, French, and Dutch. The soldiers, artificers, servants, and slaves of the fort, are lodged in barracks without the walls, built with stone and lime, equally convenient and strong as the fort itself; and the whole surrounded by pallisadoes, the river and canals drawn from it. Underneath the apartments of the servants, are magazines, and the slaves are lodged below the barracks [e].

Disorderly lives of the soldiers.

History of James Fort.

In 1664, James Island was fortified by commodore Holmes, for the protection of the English trade in this river, and had its name in honour of the duke of York. At first it had but eight pieces of cannon; but Barbot speaks of it as a regular fortification, completed and mounted in the manner we have described, in the year 1690. James Fort was taken for the first time by the French, under M. de Genes, in 1695, who commanded a small squadron of four ships of war and two bomb-ketches; of which enterprize we have a particular account by Froger, who served in the expedition.

Restored to the English, and again taken by the French.

But, it was restored to the English by the treaty of Ryswick [f]. While the English company were employed in executing a plan which would have rendered James Fort a complete fortification, the war in 1702 broke out, and again put the French in possession, by the conduct of the same admiral who had before taken it, and was now killed in the attack: but the fort was ransomed at that time for ten thousand pounds, after the French had carried off a booty of two hundred and fifty slaves, and a consider-

[e] Moore, p. 14. [f] Labat, tom. iv. p. 293.

able

able quantity of merchandize [z]. A third time it fell into the hands of the ſame nation in 1709, and was reſtored at the general peace of Utrecht; after which it was twice pillaged by Engliſh pirates, who infeſted the coaſt of Guinea, in the year 1720. The firſt of theſe enterprizes was executed by Harvel Davis, with ſuch circumſtances as merit a particular relation. Davis, believing he could expect no ſucceſs from an open attempt, reſolved to have recourſe to ſtratagem, which had the deſired ſucceſs, as neither courage, cunning, or the moſt deſperate villany were wanting in him or his crew. When he came within ſight of the iſland, he concealed all his men under the hatches, except five or ſix, employed in working the ſhip, and in the dreſs of ſailors. With ſuch a force he knew he could raiſe no ſuſpicion in the garriſon, and in conſequence came cloſe to the ſhore, went on board his boat, with the pilot and ſurgeon, rowed directly to the fort, where he was received by a file of muſquetteers, who conducted him to the governor's apartment. Here he told a plauſible ſtory, that he belonged to Liverpool, and was bound for Senegal, to take in a cargo of ivory and gum, but was purſued and forced out of his courſe by two French men of war. His cargo he told the governor conſiſted of iron, and ſome other commodities proper for the African market; upon which that gentlemen agreed to purchaſe it in exchange for ſlaves; and aſked, whether Davis had any liquors on board? He ſaid he had none for ſale; however, he would oblige the governor with ſome bottles of excellent rum: upon which he was invited with his attendants to dinner. During the preparations the governor was making to receive him handſomely, Davis returned alone on board, under pretence of bringing the ſpirits, having firſt made all the neceſſary obſervations. Preſently he returned, attended by ſix ſtout fellows, and was admitted without any queſtions, as the men were loaded with bottles, but at the ſame time ſecretly armed with piſtols and daggers, and directed to ſtay in the guard room, till on the diſcharge of a piſtol they were to ſeize upon the arms of the guard. Every particular of his order was punctually obeyed, and he became maſter of the fort, money, ſtores, and all the merchandize, by a treacherous breach of hoſpitality, that deſerves to be ſtigmatized with infamy to the lateſt poſterity. The wealth which the factors had accumulated amounted

[z] Gazette de Paris, onze d'Avril, 1703.

in

in ingots of gold to upwards of two thousand pounds, besides goods of ten times that sum, which he carried on board; and then demolished the fort, putting the governor, factors, and such of the soldiers as would not embark in his desperate fortune, on board a large vessel he found in the river [h], to steer what course they thought fit (E).

History of the trade of the Gambia.

To avoid breaking the chain of narration, we have omitted some important particulars relative to this settle-

[h] Hist. of Pirates, by Johnston, p. 130, & seq.

(E) The royal African company, receiving advice of this unhappy affair, determined to guard for the future against such accidents, by keeping so strong a garrison as might defy all the power and stratagems of pirates: but they were extremely unlucky in the officers they made choice of. Major Massey was sent in one of their ships, as commander of the troops; and he being disgusted at the reception he met with from colony Whitney, then governor, and the factors, entered into a conspiracy with one Lowther, second mate of the ship, by whose assistance, and the party he had formed among the soldiers and sailors, he found means to seize the ship and rob the fort; after which exploit, he set sail, and turned pirate. This life, though attended with all possible success, soon however became irksome to Massey, who had some sparks of conscience remaining: he determined therefore to break off from the association; and accordingly went to Jamaica, where he surrendered himself to sir Nicholas Laws, who received him kindly, and furnished him with money to carry him over to England. On his arrival in London he wrote to the directors of the company a full confession of his crime, which he attributed to his resentment of the hard usage he had met with; acknowleging, however, that he deserved death; but requesting, that it might be such a one as was worthy of a soldier. The answer was, that he deserved no better fate than a gibbet; notwithstanding which he did not conceal himself, but took lodgings in a public part of the town, and addressed himself to the officers of justice to issue an order for seizing captain Massey, a pirate. Upon the officers informing him, that they knew no such person, he told them, that he was the person, and gave them his direction. Accordingly he was arrested a few days after, upon his own information, carried before a justice, and committed to prison, upon no other evidence than his own. At length captain Russel and colonel Whitney's sons being summoned as evidence against him, Massey was tried, condemned, and hanged, for facts which would never have appeared against him, had he not determined to receive the punishment he merited.

ment

ment and the trade of the Gambia; to underſtand which properly, it is neceſſary we reſume the ſubject as far back as the treaty of Ryſwick. After reſtitution of the fort, the parliament, deſirous of eſtabliſhing the trade without any expence to the public, ſet the commerce of the river free, upon the ſole condition, that each ſhip ſhould pay ten per cent. to the company on her arrival in Africa, or twenty on her return to England. It is incredible what a number of adventurers immediately embarked in this trade upon its being laid open, and what confuſion and ruin it had almoſt produced. Every captain endeavoured to anticipate another; the French took advantage of this rivalſhip; and the Negroes, perceiving the folly of the Engliſh, raiſed the price of ſlaves higher than had ever been known, or than the trade would bear: in conſequence of which event, our colonies were badly ſupplied, the expence of planting very great, and the profits of the merchant ſo ſmall, that, all things included, it might well be deemed a loſing trade. At length, the French themſelves were involved in the difficulties of the Engliſh; for the Mandingo merchants, obſerving the great price given for ſlaves by the former, would ſell none to the latter; and thus the agents of both companies were ſoon reduced to a ſtate of idleneſs, to watch when the rage of adventuring would ſubſide, and commerce once more be put on a ſolid and rational foundation[1].

This ſituation of affairs ſoon opened the eyes of the company, who became ſenſible that they had better trade without the aid of parliament, than accept of ſuch a grant as would infallibly deſtroy the whole trade, and ruin the Britiſh colonies in America. They therefore began diligently to apply themſelves to the trade, to ruin the French, and cut out the interlopers. Mr. Corker, their chief agent, eſtabliſhed factories for this purpoſe at Javal (F) and Portodali: he ſent ſome of the factors to the king or damel of Kayor, with ſuitable merchandize, to be ſold him at an under price, and accompanied with rich preſents; but all theſe liberalities had ſo very little effect, through the addreſs of De Brue, the French director, that the damel, having led the factors a dance after him from town to town, ſent them back at laſt, without paying for the goods, and glad to eſcape at any rate out of

[1] Labat, tom. iv. p. 302, & ſeq.

(F) This place is likewiſe called Joal, Juali, or Joelo.

his hands. Corker went farther; he sold the company's goods at the price of interlopers, taking slaves at the same high rate. He employed force to exclude the French from the navigation of the river; burnt their ships, under the pretext of their having no passports; and, in a word, says Labat, testified the most malignant enmity to this nation (G).

Articles of accommodation proposed to the French by the English.

At length he perceived his error; and in the chagrin of disappointment, says Labat, wrote to his constituents, that they had better renounce the ten per cent. exacted from the French, repair James Fort at their own expence, and live upon a good understanding with the French company, than expose themselves to the necessity of totally relinquishing the trade. On the other hand, he made some proposals to M. de Brue, by which the price of merchandize should be settled between the two companies, and an unanimous resolution taken to exclude all interlopers, of whatever nation. For this purpose he sent one of the factors to Fort St. Lewis, in the year 1699, with his compliments, and the following articles of accommodation, to M. de Brue: "1. That the French company shall enjoy the same privileges they held before the war; that is, the right of maintaining factories at Albreda and Jereja, and that the agents of both companies shall live in the same friendly footing as before. 2. That the English company having, previous to the war, settled factories at Joal and Portodali, they shall continue in the full exertion of the same privilege. 3. That the vessel of the sieur Desnos, seized by the English, shall be restored at the pleasure of M. de Brue. 4. That as it would not be possible, on account of the number of English ships, to settle a tariff for the slave-trade, this article shall be deferred till the English governor received instructions from the company. 5. That, as the private traders were licensed by parliament, the company had not power absolutely to restrain them; the French governor, therefore, would excuse it, if, as countrymen, they sometimes afforded them relief when distressed."

(G) This is the account of Labat, extracted from De Brue's Journal, to which we are forced to accede, as we have no regular detail of this affair from any English writer. It must be acknowleged, that the English have ever been scandalously negligent in preserving the annals of trade, and this is the reason why we are so frequently subjected to national reflections, as we have no facts upon record to oppose to those heavy charges, so frequently brought against our companies and private traders.

distressed." To these proposals De Brue returned the following answer by the same messenger: "1. That by the treaty of Ryswick, it was stipulated, that all conquests should mutually be given up, and things restored, upon the same footing as they had been before the war; that before the war the privileges of the French company extended, by letters patent, from Cape Blanco to the river Sierra Leona, with the same right of navigating the river Gambia as the English enjoyed, as was apparent from the factories they had always maintained at Albreda and Jereja; that it was assuredly the interest of both companies to join in a free commerce, and establish a tariff, to which the Negroes should be compelled to submit; the want of which had given such a handle to interlopers, almost ruined the trade of both companies, and increased the insolence of the natives, who had taken advantage of the rupture between both nations. 2. That, as the English company was limited to the river Gambia, it was no ways reasonable they should establish themselves at Joal and Portodali, which would be an infringement of the privileges of the French. 3. That the sieur De Brue expected from the equity of governor Corker, that he would restore to the sieur Marchand, store-keeper of the French factory at Albreda, the vessel, with all the goods, that had been seized, according to the inventory delivered; that with respect to Desnos, the sieur De Brue had given to the English governor all the satisfaction which a proper regard to his character would admit of, or the utmost delicacy in the English governor could require; that Desnos was already recalled, to give an account of his conduct; the English governor was therefore requested to avoid all violent measures, which terminate only in enlarging the breach between the companies. 4. That he earnestly wished the English governor would represent to his constituents the necessity of regulating the price of slaves by a tariff, common to both, and strictly to be performed by the agents of each nation. 5. That, with all due deference to the parliament of England, he could not but observe, it was the highest injustice to give liberty of trade to private merchants, in prejudice of the rights both of the English and French companies, whose interests in this particular were necessarily one:" concluding his answer with an earnest exhortation, that governor Corker would use all his influence with his constituents, to prevail on them to take the proper measures for suppressing interlopers; and promising on his own part, that it should be

The answer of the French directory.

represented to the king and parliament of England by the French ambassador.

So earnest was De Brue in fixing a tariff with the English company, that he determined upon a voyage from Senegal to Gambia, where he arrived on the 10th of February, 1700, and was kindly received by Mr. Corker at Fort James. Here a conference ensued, at which were present all the captains of ships in the road; but the instructions of the English being very confined, it ended in nothing but mutual civilities. De Brue perceiving, however, that Mr. Corker was secretly of his opinion, flattered himself that he would use all his interest with the English company to establish the proposed regulations; but Corker was recalled, and the sieur De Brue proceeded on his intended visit to the French factories on the river Gambia.

Endeavours of the English and French governors to effect a coalition.

Soon after the arrival of the new governor, the company reinforced the garrison of James Fort with a company of grenadiers, and sent a number of masons, carpenters, and other artists, for the reparation of the fort, which still bore the marks of the sieur Gênes' expedition. De Brue was not wanting in the necessary respect to the new governor, to whom he sent compliments of congratulation on his promotion, and to Mr. Corker, on his felicity in being recalled from so unhealthy a climate, to enjoy those riches in his native country which he had with so much honour acquired in Africa. In return, the new governor sent the chief factor, chaplain, and the captain of a ship, to acknowlege and thank the politeness of De Brue, to request his friendship, and take every possible measure for an accommodation of all differences, the establishing a perfect harmony between the companies, and every other measure that could contribute to their mutual felicity. In a word, they drew up a plan to this purpose, which they were to use all their influence to have ratified at the courts of London and Versailles; and at the same time the English governor communicated to De Brue a memorial, presented to the parliament by the royal African company, from which, and the influence of the English and French ambassadors, he doubted not but every thing would be settled upon a proper footing. After many efforts, all their negociations terminated in nothing; the influence of private traders, whose interests were directly opposite to those of the companies, throwing insurmountable difficulties in the way. They even obtained, by their credit or liberality to the government, the escort of a man of war for the protection of their trade. Thus new causes of complaint

complaint daily arising, the differences became so high, that, in 1702, De Genes attacked and destroyed James Fort, as we have mentioned; after which the affairs of the English company were fallen so low as to oblige them to propose a treaty of neutrality, which we have reason to believe was accepted, though we can find no other authority for our opinion than the reasonableness of the propositions, the success of the allies, the low estate to which France had been reduced during the war, the cessions made at the treaty of Utrecht, and the silence of all the French writers on this head [k].

A treaty of neutrality.

The royal African company, trying every means to establish their trade, came to a resolution, in 1732, not to molest private traders, but to give all possible encouragement to their own agents to serve them with fidelity. With this view they cheapened provisions at James Fort, and, giving a great extent to their trade, they thought it proper to deal in those commodities which hitherto they had deemed useless, such as gums, bark, skins, and dying woods, chiefly with intention to make the employments of the factors the more profitable. They moreover offered a premium of twenty per cent. to any one who should discover a new article of trade; and the prices of the staple commodities were adjusted. The factors had always been appointed by the court of directors; or, if they ever employed in that function the writers of James Fort, it was with the precaution, that two responsible persons should be bound in a bond of two thousand pounds for their good behaviour, and likewise the individual employed, for the same sum; yet, in spite of these ties, the company had frequently sustained considerable losses from the infidelity of their agents; and whenever they were prosecuted, such was the indulgence of the court of chancery, that the company could never recover damages, their evidence being such as would not be admitted, that is, the oath of a Negro infidel.

Efforts of the English company to revive the trade.

The English African company maintains a commerce with several of the neighbouring places to Gambia. To St. Jago, and other of the Cape de Verd islands, they send all sorts of grain, in return for which they take salt; a commodity quickly bought up in the river Gambia. With Cachao, or Cutcheo, a Portuguese settlement, they deal in bees-wax; but with little profit, it being sometimes so impure and foul, that there will be twenty or thirty

Trade of the English company on the river Gambia

[k] Labat, tom. iv. p. 163. Moore's Voy. 101.

per cent. loſs upon it. The chief articles of trade on this river are gold, ſlaves, ivory, and wax; for as to the gum-trade, it is not hitherto brought to any degree of perfection. Some years the factors buy up above two thouſand ſlaves, the greater part of which are priſoners of war, perſons kidnapped from neighbouring countries, or criminals; though ſome are the children of thoſe who are born ſlaves, and bred by the Portugueſe, who make them a kind of commodity or article of trade. As the number of thoſe ſtolen is conſiderable, the factors have directions not to purchaſe any ſlaves without informing the alkade, or chief of the place, that he may enquire into the circumſtances of their ſervitude. Since the ſlave-trade became ſo profitable to the Negro princes, the courſe of juſtice has taken a more rigorous turn, and every crime, even miſdemeanours of a venial nature, are puniſhed with ſlavery. Thus murder, theft, robbery, and adultery, are confounded with the ſlighteſt faults, and all puniſhed in the ſame barbarous manner. Moore relates, that a native of Mayer, ſhooting his arrows at a tiger, who had killed his goat, unfortunately ſlew a man. The king, though he was apprized of the circumſtances, inhumanly ſold the offender, his wife, children, and effects, among the other ſlaves, for whom he had bargained with the Engliſh.

Ivory, which makes the third article of commerce, is brought ſometimes to the factories in large quantities from Mandingo. The Negroes procure it either by hunting the elephant, and ſlaying it with ſwords, arrows, and darts; or in the woods, from ſuch of theſe animals as have died a natural death; for Moore doubts the notion of their ſhedding their teeth. He has ſeen a tooth weigh three hundred pounds, and the price proportionably raiſed, without any great regard to the colour. The third commodity is bees-wax, of which prodigious heaps are produced in all the kingdoms along the river Gambia; their method of rearing bees being but little different from that practiſed in Europe. Beſides the gum-trade, there are ſeveral other articles of ſome conſequence, though greatly inferior to this, were it diligently improved, conſidering the number of ſilk manufactures eſtabliſhed in this kingdom[1] (H).

[1] Labat, ubi ſupra.

(H) Senegal, and of conſequence the gum-trade, is now in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

Before

Before we quit this subject, it may be necessary to give the reader an idea of the trade carried on here by the French and Portuguese. The factory at Albreda, belonging to the former, enjoys a considerable traffick; but, according to Moore, might be considerably improved, if their factors had not entered into an agreement with the English, to keep down the price of slaves. In 1735, the great demand for slaves for Mississipi occasioned an infraction of this convention, and raised the price as much too high as before it was too low; the private traders taking an advantage on the one hand, and the American colonies being oppressed on the other. By a convention betwixt the governors of James Fort and Goree, the French were permitted, in 1724, to establish a factory a little higher up the river than James Island; and, as an equivalent, the English were allowed to trade to Joally and Portodali, two places of considerable importance in commerce near Goree. Although the factory at Albreda be scarce within reach of the cannon of James Fort, yet the French factors are forced to have permission from the English governor to wood and water, and lay in provisions, and even to cross the river. This liberty is seldom denied; but a soldier from the fort is always sent in the French boat, to watch their actions, and prevent an irregular trade, which is not allowed to extend above Elephant Island, thirty miles (leagues, says Labat) higher than James Fort[m]. As to the Portuguese, they have established themselves in almost all the considerable towns along the Gambia, and carry on a very profitable trade, particularly at Vintain, or Bintam, Jereja, and Tankroval. At the latter signior Antonio Voss, a black Portuguese, famed for his wealth and ostentation, has taken up his residence. This gentleman trades largely with the private merchants, retains a prodigious number of domestic slaves, makes a trade of breeding them, carries on, by their means and a number of canoes, a traffick with all the ports up the river, and is by much the most respectable subject round Gambia, or perhaps in any part of Africa; such at least he was in the year 1737. As we have elsewhere delineated these Portuguese mulattoes, we shall proceed to a description of the island and fort of Goree, the only European settlement between the rivers of Senegal and Gambia: but the great emporium of the trade of this country is at Goree; which, next to Fort Lewis, is the most important settlement the French main-

French and Portuguese trade.

The island and fort of Goree.

[m] Moore, ibid.

tain in Africa, and, perhaps, more so than Fort Lewis itself, as the situation is stronger, and yet access to it much easier for shipping, at the same time that it enjoys almost all the other advantages of situation.

The name by which the natives call this island is Barsaguiche, if we may credit Barbot; the Dutch, who were the first European possessors, giving it the appellation of Goree, from a town of that name in Holland; and Reynold, in his Voyage, speaks of it as a place of considerable trade, under the name of Barsaguiche [n]. In length it is about four hundred and twenty toises, and in breadth not exceeding one hundred and twenty-four toises, the whole circumference, according to a late mensuration, being about two English miles, if one includes a point that projects into the sea on the eastern end of the island. Goree stands south-south-west of Cape Verd, within a cannon-shot of the shore, extending north-north-east and south-south-west, and consists of a low narrow piece of land and a small, but steep mountain. Notwithstanding its confined dimensions, the situation renders it a very agreeable place: towards the south you enjoy a prospect, terminated only by the sea; northward you discover Cape Verd, and all the other neighbouring capes and promontories. Though it stands in the third torrid zone, as Adamson expresses it, yet the inhabitants breathe a cool and temperate air all the year round, owing to the equality of days and nights, and its banks are continually refreshed by alternate breezes from the land and sea. Besides the multitude of surrounding rocks, that render it almost inaccessible, except at two particular bays, the late director M. de St. Jean has embellished the fort with several new buildings, as well as fortified it by works, which render it a place of great strength, though not impregnable, as experience has shewn; though French writers have boasted of it as such. By the diligence of this gentleman, several fresh springs, so much wanted, have been discovered in the island; the gardens have been planted with excellent fruit-trees: all kinds of vegetables have been raised in great abundance; and from a small, barren, and despicable island, he has made it one of the safest, pleasantest, and most important settlements in all Africa [o].

Goree was ceded to the Dutch, in the year 1617, by Biram, king of Cape Verd, and they immediately secured it by a fort, built on a rock to the north-west, to which

[n] Moore, p. 87. [o] Adamson, p. 104.

they

they gave the name of Naſſau Fort; but, finding that this ſituation did not command the harbour, they erected another fortification called Orange Fort, ſomewhat nearer the ſhore. This eſtabliſhment they kept till they were driven out by admiral Holmes, in 1663, who placed an Engliſh garriſon in it. Two years after it was retaken by De Ruyter, when Mr. Abercromby the governor, and garriſon, were forced to ſurrender priſoners of war. Upon this the Dutch augmented the fortifications, and the iſland enjoyed a perfect tranquillity till the year 1677, when a French ſquadron, commanded by the count d'Eſtrees, arrived off the harbour on the 30th of October, to diſturb their happy repoſe and flouriſhing commerce. Next day Hapſar, the Dutch governor, was ſummoned to ſurrender, and, on his refuſal, the count made preparations to bombard Orange Fort, which obliged the garriſon to evacuate it, and retire to Fort Naſſau, where they expected to capitulate upon honourable terms, though they were ſoon forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. D'Eſtrees found the iſland in good condition, the lower fort mounting forty pieces of heavy cannon, and the works kept in excellent repair: but, having no inſtructions to garriſon them, he diſmantled this, and entirely demoliſhed Naſſau Fort. Soon after M. du Caſſe arrived at Goree, with a forty gun ſhip, and ſolemnly took poſſeſſion of the iſland, in the name of the Senegal company, and concluded a treaty with the king and Negroes of Ruſiſco, Joal, and Portodali, on the ſame conditions the Dutch enjoyed while they poſſeſſed the iſland. As this meaſure, which he had taken voluntarily, was approved on his return by the court, he was ſent back the following year, in quality of governor, with preſents to the Negro kings; and the ſame year this conqueſt was ſecured to the company by the treaty of Nimeguen.

No ſooner were the French in full poſſeſſion, than they ſet to work, in repairing and adding new works to both the forts, calling the lower fort Vermandois, and the higher St. Michael. Before the year 1681, ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts were made by the Dutch to recover a place of ſuch importance to trade; but all of them proved abortive, through the diligence of Du Caſſe, who, after gentle remonſtrances to the Dutch commodore, at laſt ſeized two of his ſhips, and ſent them to Elmina. In 1667, the ſieur De Brue, one of the moſt diligent and ſenſible officers ever employed by the company, was ſent in quality of director-general, and he put the iſland in the ſtate of defence in which

which it remained till the arrival of M. St. Jean, about the year 1750, who improved it in the manner we have related.

The department or division of the trade belonging to Goree comprehends the commerce of the kingdoms of Kayor, Sin, and Salem, which is indeed extensive. The first of these, called the kingdom of Damel, or Kayor, stands at a great distance from the lake of that name, in the desert of Zaara, or Sarah, north of the river Senegal. This trade produces annually upwards of three hundred slaves, twenty thousand undressed skins or hides, sometimes eighty thousand, and two hundred and fifty quintals of ivory; but the oppression of the Damel has diminished the trade, particularly the skin-trade, and almost ruined the inhabitants. The company's trade with Sin is confined to two ports, Joal and Fakika, both within the department of Goree: of these the principal is Joal, because the anchorage is more safe, and the landing or shipping of goods easier. The town is large and populous; and, though the inhabitants are of a brutish and insolent disposition, yet they love commerce, which may be carried on to great advantage with them, after their customs and peculiarities are studied and known.

Joal is capable of supplying Goree, and all the shipping that frequents it, with every kind of provisions they can possibly stand in need of. Cattle, fowls, rice, maize, and all vegetables are the natural product of the kingdom of Sin, equally cheap and excellent; and salt, with the necessaries of preserving beef for sea, are obtained in abundance from the Cape de Verd islands, and Fakika, where it is sold at three livres per barrel.

From Joal to the river Palmeria is about seven leagues, which is the whole length of the maritime coast of Sin; on which side it seems to terminate in a point, the rest of the kingdom being some hundreds of miles in dimension, and extremely fruitful, except on the frontiers, where it is exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the robberies and desolations committed by the Tin and Damel. To guard themselves against the tumults which frequently happen among the inhabitants of Joal, and to keep this fierce people in subjection, the company found it necessary to build a strong stone factory, well supplied with small arms and ammunition, together with a considerable number of European servants, not however in quality of soldiers, though defence and security be the principal objects of maintaining them at so great an expence.

The

The chief commerce with the kingdom of Salem is carried on by means of Kahone, a village where the river Salem rises from the river Gambia, according to French writers; though Moore and other English authors assert, that these two rivers have no sort of connection. It is surprising that the company have not established a more considerable factory in a place so well calculated for commerce as Kahone; for here all the Mandingo merchants stop in their way to Tilipay and Albreda, with the gold, ivory, and slaves they bring from the kingdoms of Tombuto, Bambara, Kona, and other countries of the east [p].

With these kingdoms, or rather according to some authorities, with the kingdom of Kayor alone, the company have settled three tariffs, for the better regulation of trade, one with the king, another with the nobles, and a third with the people; all three proposed and carried into execution by De Brue. The chief, which regards the king, is confined to slaves, and requires, that all the prisoners of war, or their slaves, delivered by his majesty to the company, shall not be over or under a certain age; that is, from forty to ten years, and that they be sound in all their limbs and organs. This precaution was the more necessary, as numberless frauds have been committed in the slave-trade with the king, and all of them supported by force, and maintained with an insolent authority, under the pretext of justice.

As to the chief articles of trade and exchange, they are distinguished by names seemingly of Negro extraction, such as the makaton, mortand, bujis, and ratacon, all of them signifying certain assortments and classes of merchandize, which it would be tedious and unnecessary to enumerate and explain: sufficient it is, that the commerce of Goree is so considerable, that the loss of it will be one of the most sensible strokes the trade of France can receive; as from thence, and Fort Lewis, their West India colonies were supplied with slaves, great exports being made by their means from France, while gums, mohair, skins, sal ammoniac, ambergrise, gold, ivory, and ostriches feathers, together with dying woods, and several other valuable articles, were imported [q].

Island of Arguim.

The island of Arguim, which we have enumerated among the French settlements, though we are told it is now totally abandoned, stands at the bottom of a gulf of

[p] Labat, ibid. Prevost, tom. iii. ubi supra. [q] Vide auct. citat. ibid.

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the same name, formed by Cape Blanco; from which it is distant about sixteen miles, in 20 deg. 30 min. north latitude. Although it is scarce two miles in length, yet has it been for centuries past a bone of contention among the European powers, the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French, into whose hands it has passed successively: at length, in the year 1725, the French demolished the Fort, which has never since been rebuilt by any European nation.

SECT. V.

Containing an Account of the Navigation of the River Senegal; its Trade; the different Factories established upon it; a Description of the Island of Senegal, and Fort St. Lewis; of the Privileges of the French Company; with a particular Account of the Gum Trade, &c.

Account of the river Senegal, its trade, and different factories established upon it.

WE come now to the great river Senegal, the source of which is no less disputed, and not better known, than that of Gambia. Some geographers are of opinion, that it rises out of the great lake Mabeira, and passes through a course of fifteen hundred miles, before it discharges itself into the ocean [a], while others no less obstinately assert it to be a continuation of the Niger, though neither opinions can be otherwise supported than by conjecture [b]. As this is a point of but little consequence to the reader, till the voyagers have pushed their discoveries farther, we shall decline entering upon the merits of the dispute, which cannot possibly be decided by what we have to offer; though it may be proper to observe, that one insurmountable difficulty attends the latter opinion: it is that prodigious ridge of mountains that separates the lakes Mabeira and Nigris, the Senegal running through or from the former, and the Niger emptying itself in the latter, or passing along westward through it (A).

Nor

[a] Bolton's Maps in Postlethwait's Com. Dict. tom. i. [b] Labat, tom. i. cap. 8.

(A) In this manner that excellent geographer, Mr. Bolton, has corrected D'Anville's map of Africa; and yet the concurring opinions of Leo Africanus, Marmol, Labat, Prevost,

Nor is the etymology of the name given this river a point less warmly disputed than its source. By all the Europeans it is called the Senegal, Senega, Zanega, or Zenega; but whence this name is derived, is a question frequently agitated by writers, who have left it just as obscure as they found it. If we may credit Sanutus, it was known to the ancients under the name of Asana, or Asanaga, a sound not very remote from Zanega. Labat however offers another solution of the difficulty, from what he relates as a fact. When the Europeans first arrived at the mouth of this river, they met with some fishermen, of whom they asked its name; one of the natives imagining they enquired after his own name, replied Zenega, which appellation, though by mistake, the Europeans have ever since applied to the river, with only a very small alteration of sound. Without waiting to examine into the credibility of this report, or how the native should have so nearly understood the meaning of an European language he had never heard, we shall pass to a description of this river as far as known, that being a subject of more utility and certainty.

The river Senegal is doubtless one of the largest rivers of Africa; for, without ascending higher than the lake Bennin, (the fartherst that Europeans have penetrated, at least upon unquestionable authority) it is eight hundred leagues to the island of Senegal, near the mouth of the river. So cruel, so savage, and so barbarous are the inhabitants, that few people's curiosity is sufficient to carry them through the dangers and fatigues which would necessarily attend such a pursuit; and perhaps the farther discovery is left to those zealous and indefatigable missionaries, to whom the learned already owe so many obligations for the patience, perseverance, and obstinate courage, with which they have prosecuted the interests of science, in different parts of the world. Within two leagues of the sea, the river in its course takes a sudden turn to the south, and for the remainder of its passage is divided from the sea only by a natural ridge of sand,

Prevost, and many other moderns, seem to make no dispute, that the Senegal and Niger are undoubtedly the same; or at least, that the former is a branch of the latter. However, if Mr. Bolton has rightly laid down the situation of the above mountains, the opinion of those authors must be absurd.

some-

ſometimes not an hundred toiſes over. By this curve, it prolongs its courſe for twenty-five leagues farther from north to ſouth, till at length it diſcharges itſelf in the ocean, in 15 deg. 50 min. north latitude. This great river ſeparates the country of the Negroes from the Moors of Zara, or the Deſert, ſtretching by a number of windings to a prodigious length, from eaſt to weſt; that is, from the cataracts of Galam, beyond which the French have made no diſcoveries, to its entrance at Biyurt, or Rieurt, a ſhort way below the iſland Senegal.

The extreme rapidity of this river is attributed to the ſpace paſſed through by ſo large a body of water, confined within ſo narrow a channel; the mouth of it being no more than half a league over, and that choaked up with ſand, called a bar, which renders the paſſage exceeding difficult and drngerous. This bar is doubly dangerous, on account not only of the ſhallowneſs of the water at all times, but of the ſhifting of the bar, and the change of its ſituation after floods and heavy rains, by which the channels are loſt, and new ſoundings requiſite to diſcover them; indeed, the Senegal would be quite ſhut up, but for one channel of two hundred toiſes in breadth, and two fathoms depth, which has long kept its ſituation immoveable, amidſt the floods and overflowings of the river. This bar prevents ſhips of five or ſix hundred tons from entering the river, and mooring under the fort; an inconvenience that obliged the French company to keep a veſſel conſtantly at anchor in the channel, for no other purpoſe than to keep an account of the soundings.

Although the bar be attended with this inconvenience, it is not without nearly equivalent advantages, ſince to it the fort owes its chief ſtrength and ſecurity. It is this, ſays Labat, that renders Fort St. Lewis impregnable to ſhipping, and indeed to enemies of every kind, by ſea or land; for as this bar changes its ſituation yearly, ſometimes oftener, without being poſſibly perceived from the ſea, it requires conſtant practice to diſcover the channels, the ſoundings, and the proper occaſions and ſeaſons for paſſing, nothing of which can be expected from ſtrangers. Yet after all, however true theſe facts may be, certain it is, that Fort St. Lewis is now in the hands of the Engliſh. The moſt commodious time of the year for croſſing the bar is, from the month of January till Auguſt, the winds being then variable, the river ſmooth, and the bar fixed till the enſuing rainy ſeaſon, when the prodigious

ſwell

ſwell of the river, and ſouth-weſt winds, oppoſed to its rapid courſe, raiſe waves of ſo prodigious a height at the bar, that their claſhing reſembles the ſhock of mountains, and ſo furious, as to daſh in pieces the ſtouteſt ſhip.

After croſſing the bar, we find ourſelves in a beautiful ſmooth, and gently gliding river, at four fathoms depth. In advancing a league higher, we ſee the country on the ſouth ſide, clothed with a beautiſul verdure, the trees in perpetual bloom, the flocks ſkipping about, with all that wantonneſs inſpired by plenty, and a certain chearfulneſs in every countenance, the reſult of the felicity and ſecurity they enjoy, than which nothing can form a more agreeable contraſt to the dry, ſandy, and barren points of land, that firſt preſent themſelves to ſhipping. All around lie a great number of iſlands, pleaſantly ſtocked with trees, fruits, herbage, and birds, but appropriated to no uſe by the French company, except the iſland of Senegal, on which ſtands Fort St. Lewis, in the latitude of 16 deg. 5 min. north, according to Labat. It is ſituated in the very middle of the river, two, three, or four miles from its entrance, according as the bar happens to ſhift. Froger, who meaſured it in 1705, reckons it about eleven hundred and fifty toiſes in length, from north to ſouth. An engineer who took its dimenſions in 1714, agrees with the former menſuration, as to the length, and ſays, that its breadth at that end towards the bar is no more than ninety toiſes, at the oppoſite extremity one hundred and eight toiſes, and one hundred and thirty in that part where the fort ſtands. The eaſtern branch of the river is three hundred and eighty toiſes broad, and the weſtern two hundred and ten, the iſland itſelf being only a dry, ſandy, deſert, and barren ſpot of ground, of no value but for the very purpoſe uſed by the French, who were led to prefer it to the other iſlands on account of its ſize. One half of the year it is deſtitute of water, having neither ſprings or wells, and the water of the river being too ſalt for uſe. At preſent there remains of the ancient Fort of St. Lewis, but four round towers, which do not ſtand in a line, but form a kind of obtuſe angle, of which the two middle towers are not diſtant more than four toiſes and a half. They are exceedingly well built in the old taſte, and covered with tiles. Formerly they were joined by a curtain, ſtrengthened by palliſadoes, and a covered way and ravelin, beneath which were magazines, and behind ſome ill-judged baſtions; but the greateſt ſecurity of the fort is

Deſcription of the iſland of Senegal and Fort St. Lewis.

is its natural situation (B). Besides this, the French had another fort called St. Joseph, about ten leagues below the cataract at Govina, though there are a few factories dispersed up and down in different parts.

Privileges of the French company.

To conclude our account of the Coast of Guinea, the privileges of the French company extended from Cape Blanco, and the island of Arguim, to the Sierra Leona; that is, from 20 deg. 30 min. to 9 deg. 30 min. north latitude, comprehending within this district six forts, besides a few little unfortified factories. These are, Arguim, on an island of that name, situated in a bay formed by Cape Blanco; to which may be subjoined the harbour and factory of Portendic, in the territory of Alichandora, the son of Addi, chief of the Moors of the tribe of Eterazza, three miles farther south than Portendic. The next is Fort St. Lewis, in the island of Senegal now belonging to England. The third is Fort St. Joseph, above three hundred miles up the river Senegal, upon which depends another little fort, called St. Peter's Fort, standing a few miles farther east, and both in the kingdom of Galam. The fourth is Goree, in the island of that name, a few leagues nearer the continent than the Cape de Verds; which, for the excellency of its harbour, the strength of the fort, and the extent of its commerce, may well be reputed the head settlement of the French company in Africa, although the residence of the director general was usually at Fort St. Lewis. Joual is the fifth, and stands on the coast between Goree and the river Gambia. Labat thinks, that this factory well deserves the expence of fortifying it, as its advantageous situation and extensive traffic would well support the charges of a garrison. The sixth settlement is that at Albreda, in the vicinage of James Fort in the river Gambia [d]. To these we may add the little factories of Jereja and Bassao, the first standing on a river of the same name, that falls into the Gambia near Albreda, and the other on the island of Bissao, both of them capable of great improvement, but at present unfortified and of little consequence.

Various have been the revolutions of the forts of Portendic and Arguim, which have been alternately in the hands of the French, English, Dutch, and Moors, and at

[d] Labat, de l'Afrique Occid. tom. i. cap. 5.

(B) What alteration it has undergone since it fell into the hands of the English, we can not pretend to describe.

length

length abandoned and deſtroyed, notwithſtanding the great trade carried on by them in gum, ambergriſe, oſtriches feathers, and other commodities. As the gum trade, now carried on by the river Senegal, is a conſiderable branch of commerce in Africa, it will not be diſagreeable to the reader to have a particular account of this commodity. Although no country could be leſs inviting than all that tract, from Cape Blanco to the kingdom of Morocco, no coaſt more inhoſpitable, deſert, ſandy, and poor, than that round Arguim and Portendic; yet was it the occaſion of infinite contentions among the European nations, who all endeavoured to eſtabliſh themſelves here as the only mart, beſides Senegal, of the gum trade, to which the Moors and other Africans all reſorted with that commodity. This in itſelf would appear but a trifling branch of trade, though two reaſons have contributed to raiſe its value, and render it very conſiderable. It is ſold by the Moors at a very reaſonable price, in proportion to the value it bears in Europe, which circumſtance alone would make the trade beneficial, were it not greatly augmented by the extravagant demand for it on account of the ſilk and other manufactures. This it is that has excited the emulation of European ſtates, and made the French nation, whoſe manufactures in this way are perhaps the moſt conſiderable, ſo extremely jealous of the gum trade, and vigilant to monopolize it. Hence it was, that all commercial nations ſtruggled for the poſſeſſion of ſuch a treaſure; that the Dutch expended ſo large ſums in the ſupport of their fort at Arguim; and that, after they were chaſed from thence, they endeavoured to eſtabliſh themſelves to as much advantage at Portendic, and drive this commerce with the three Mooriſh nations, of which we ſhall give a ſhort account at the concluſion of this ſection.

An account of the gum trade.

The gum imported to Europe by the French company, or the interlopers, is called Gum Senega, Senegal, Zanega, or Arabic. The latter name it has, becauſe, before the inſtitution of the company, all the gum uſed in Europe was imported under the name of gum Arabic; but after they had opened this commerce, the price of the commodity ſunk in proportion to the quantity imported, and the gum came to be univerſally known by the appellation of gum Senegal. Voyagers attribute a number of medicinal virtues to this ſubſtance, founding their opinion upon extraordinary cures the Negroes perform with it; but as theſe have not been conſonant to the experi-

ence of the beſt European practitioners, we ſhall not inſiſt upon them in this place. As to its utility in arts and manufactures, every one who knows how neceſſary it is to the limner, ſilk weaver, dyer, and many other artificers, may judge of the importance of the gum trade, and of the policy of our neighbours in monopolizing it[e].

Labat deſcribes the tree producing this gum, as a ſpecies of acacia, ſmall, prickly, full of branches, and cloathed with leaves moderately long, extremely narrow, and of a perpetual verdure. It bears a white flower, compoſed of five leaves forming a kind of cup, but according to other naturaliſts, of one infundibuliform leaf, and the flowers collected in cluſters or little heads. The piſtil riſes from the bottom of the flower, and at length becomes a pod of three or four inches long, filled with ſmall, round, hard, and black grains, which ſerve to propagate the ſpecies. Of this ſpecies of gum-tree there are three foreſts, between the north ſide of the Niger or Senegal, and Arguim or Cape Blanco. The firſt the natives call Sahel; the ſecond, which is the moſt conſiderable, is called Lebian; and the third, Aſetack; all of them ſituated in the deſert north of the river, and at nearly equal diſtances from it; that is, about thirty miles from fort St. Lewis; being ſeparated from each other by a barren ſpace of about ten leagues. Every year produces two crops, if we may ſo expreſs ourſelves, of gum; the firſt, which is the beſt, in the month of December; and the other in March. The firſt tears, drops, or exſudations, are the largeſt, pureſt, and drieſt, with every other advantage required in this drug; the other more ſoft, glutinous, and impure, for reaſons extremely obvious. The December crop is gathered after the rains have ceaſed, and the moiſture of the earth has rendered the ſap more abundant in the trees, which the ſun has perfectly concreted and digeſted, without exhaling the virtues; whereas that in March is procured by making inciſions in the trees, they having too little vigour of themſelves to produce a crop.

Gathering the gum in theſe large foreſts, is the employment of three differenr tribes of Moors, the principal of which is called in the Arabic, the tribe of Terarza, whoſe chief is Alichondora, who ſuperintends his people at work, and confines them to the foreſt of Sahel. Chem is the head of the next tribe, called the tribe of Anlad-El-

e Moore, paſſim. Labat, ubi ſupra. Adamſon, p. 56.

Hagi,

Hagi, who confine their rights of gathering gum to the foreſt of Lebian or Hebian; and the chief of the third tribe, or that of Abraguena, is called Baccar, his privileges extending all over the foreſt of Alſatack, and no farther. We ſhall ſpeak of theſe different tribes more particularly in the margin. The firſt of theſe princes exacted a high duty from the Dutch, while they were in poſſeſſion of a fort at Arguim; and the French ſtill pay cuſtoms for the liberty of trading, though it will be difficult to aſcertain their amounts, from the long liſt of articles mentioned in the tariff, ſettled by De Brue in the year 1715 (C). What chiefly regards the reader, is an

(C) Labat gives us a ſtriking picture of the chiefs of theſe tribes, all of which, he ſays, are marbuts, or preachers and teachers of the law of Mohammed. To judge by their modeſt and ſedate exterior, by their diſcourſe, which always begins and ends with an invocation to the Supreme Being and his prophets, and by their public conduct, one would ſet them down for rigid believers and obſervers of the doctrine they teach, as they are auſtere and ſcrupulous in the ſelf-denial of even the moſt trivial enjoyments of life. But, ſays he, when we remove the veil, and penetrate into their private conduct and real ſentiments, all is found to be outſide and mere hypocriſy, diſſimulation, avarice, cruelty, ingratitude, ſuperſtition, and ignorance. In vain do you look for any of the moral virtues among them; faith, honour, and a regard to their engagements, they have no idea of. They are a ſet of Mohammedan Phariſees, who look upon external virtue, as the means and neceſſary inſtrument of ſecret fraud, drunkenneſs, and every other vice that can debaſe the human heart. They have taken infinite pains in making converts to their faith, and their ſucceſs has been anſwerable to their diligence, which is not exceeded by the catholic miſſionaries themſelves, and perhaps with ſimilar views, as appears from the new erected monarchy of the Jeſuits in Paraguay. One thing, however, is extraordinary, that few of the Negroes who have once embraced the Mohammedan religion, ever again depart from it, notwithſtanding the ſlaviſh dependence in which they are held by the marbuts.

They all acknowlege the ſupremacy of the emperor of Morocco, in temporals, and many of them acknowlege him as their khalif, and head in ſpirituals; though they never go ſo far as to pay him tribute (1).

(1) Labat, tom. i. chap. 20.

account of the inhabitants of that vast space lying between the river Senegal and the empire of Morocco, concerning whom we shall endeavour to give him some satisfaction [f].

SECT. VI.

Containing an Account of the Desert of Zaara, or Sarah, and the Country of Biledulgerid; of three Moorish Nations that inhabit these Countries, and of their Manners and Trade; with a Description of the Island of Bissao, its Government, Religion, and Manners of the Natives; of the People called Balontes; and of the Bassagoe Islands.

Of the desert of Zaara, or Sarah, and the country of Biledulgerid.

THE country north of the Senegal, called Zaara, Sarah, or the Desert (A), is inhabited, according to Leo Africanus, by six different Moorish nations or tribes; the Sanagas, Sonensigas, Fuergas, Lamptions, Bardoas, and Levatas, situated along the ocean on the east, in the order in which we have enumerated them. Sarah, or the Desert, and Biledulgerid, extend from the Atlantic ocean to the east, as far as Ethiopia Superior; are supposed to run along parallel to Nigritia, and to lie between the 20th and 28th degrees of north latitude, bounded by the territories of the emperor of Morocco and Barbary on the north, by Ethiopia on the east, on the south by Nigritia or Negroland, and by the Atlantic ocean on the west. The northern part of this tract, called Biledulgerid in our best maps, is denominated in the charts of voyagers by the name of Gualata; and the southern part, called Zaara or Sarah by most geographers, is by mariners called the country of Arguim, and frequently the country of Zanaga or Senegal: it is by this variety of names, that such confusion is introduced into the works of the greater number of modern writers and geographers [a].

[f] Auct. ult. citat. ibid.

[a] Vide Bolton's Maps.

(A) According to most geographers, this country is laid down under the general name of the Deserts of Barbary; D'Anville and Bolton call it the country of Zaraga (2).

(2) See Bolton's Maps annexed to vol i. of Postlethwait's Com. Dict.

These

Thefe nations, though fprung from the fame origin as the Moors of Barbary, are however diftinguifhed by thefe as different, and they again confider the merchants of Barbary, that come among them to trade, as quite another people. Nevertheleis, all European writers confound them, and Labat in particular is guilty of this error, as often as he fpeaks of them. Spain was conquered by the Arabians, and in progrefs of time was wrefted from them by the Moors of Fez and Morocco; yet do few of the Spanifh writers diftinguifh thefe two conquefts, implying indifferently the terms of Moor and Arab to denominate either people; while others, with ftill more confufion, call all the followers of Mohammed in Africa by the general name of Moors. The religion of the Moors of Sarah and Biledulgerid is Mohammedifm, though they have neither mofques or any other fixed place of worfhip. They pray in their tents, and perform their devotions wherever they happen to be, at ftated times, after wafhing themfelves with water, or, if that is wanting, rubbing over their bodies with fand, which they look upon as a kind of ablution. Their paffion for gain is ftill however ftronger than their devotion; they refufe no fatigue or danger in queft in wealth, but all the fervor of religion cannot oblige the Arabs of the diftrict of Arguim to undertake the long pilgrimage to Mecca, although they often go to Tombuto, Gago, and Galam, on the bufinefs of commerce, from whence they bring prodigious returns of gold. This expedition they undertake in large caravans, loaded in going with falt, cloths, and iron inftruments, which they exchange for gold, ivory, mufk, bezoar, and flaves; making prize of whatever falls in their way, and flaves of friends or foes; who encounter them on the road, provided it be not to trade; like thofe veffels which exercife at the fame time trade and piracy. Sometimes indeed, when they can do it fecretly, they feize on the Negroes, who come to trade with them, and fell them afterwards to the Europeans, or the Moors of Fez and Morocco[b].

Three Mooriſh nations that inhabit thefe countries, an account of their manners and trade.

Between Cape Blanco and the river Senegal, there are chiefly three Mooriffh nations, who acknowlege the fovereignty of no princes, each canton being governed by a kind of chief chofen out of their own number, but generally the moft wealthy and confiderable perfon of the tribe. Thus the government is a kind of mixed conftitution, but

[b] Leo African. Fol. dup. 52.

favouring more of republican principles, nothing being done without the advice and approbation of a council, and indeed of the whole tribe; while the whole body is governed by the joint councils of the three nations, in the same manner as Holland, where each province has its peculiar laws, independent of the will of the States General. These chiefs are commonly marbuts, who are entertained with great respect and veneration by the people, rather from an apprehension of the power of their enchantments and grisgris, than from any sentiments of religion.

Among the Arabs, are some of the most beautiful horses on earth; the true breed of Barbary, greatly improved by a mixture of blood with the Arabian kind, which are bought at an extravagant price. They likewise rear a great number of camels, cows, oxen, sheep, and goats; yet, except on festivals and particular occasions, they seldom kill these animals for the use of their tables, eating in their stead ostriches, antelopes, deer, apes, and sometimes lions, which they kill in the chace. Their oxens and camels are used in transporting their baggage, when the want of forage obliges them to remove their quarters, or they go trading journeys to the kingdoms of Galam, Fez, or Morocco.

The arms employed by them in their wars, which frequently happen among themselves, and in their hunting parties, are the sabre and dart, which last they throw with great dexterity, seldom missing the object aimed at. They have also a kind of musquets, and holsters, or calepistols, which they buy from the Dutch and French, soon rendered useless by rust contracted from the nitrous quality of the atmosphere[c]. As their workmen are incapable of cleaning and repairing them, their fire arms are but little valued, except as curiosities, and generally neglected for their ancient arms; a circumstance of great advantage to the Europeans, who might find it difficult otherwise to defend themselves against so warlike, roving, and predatory a people.

Both Moors and Arabs round Arguim and Senegal are inviolably attached to the customs and manners of their ancestors, if we except a few who pitch their tents and cabins under the walls of Portendic, either nearer or farther from the sea, as the season and their affairs require. These in many particulars have fallen into the European

[c] Labat. lib. ii. cap. 5. tom. i.

manners,

manners, and are for that reason heartily despised by the rest of their countrymen. The tents and cabins of this people are all of a conical form, the former being made of the hides of animals, so exactly seamed, as to admit no water in the most rainy season. Labat tells us, that their tents are made of a kind of manufactured wool and hair, which is the proper and almost sole employment of their women. But other authors inform us, that all domestic cares are left to them, even that of looking after the camels, laying in wood and water, making bread, and providing victuals for the family; yet notwithstanding this subjection in which they are held, they are beloved, and in other respects tenderly treated, by their husbands. However, if the woman be deficient in any essential duty to her husband, she is driven out of the house, and her father, brothers, and other relations, all take part in her quarrel, and resent the indignity done their family, though at the same time they receive her but coldly, for having by her imprudence occasioned such a breach among friends. In general, the men look upon it as doing honour to themselves, to clothe their wives genteely, sparing no expence in making them appear with a lustre becoming their rank; and the profits of trade are usually applied to this purpose; the gold that remains unsold being converted into female ornaments and trinkets.

Their women never appear without a long veil, which covers their face and arms; nor are the Europeans ever upon so familiar a footing as to see them uncovered, except by accident. Both men and women are in general well proportioned, of a middling stature, extreme fine features, with a beautiful symmetry of face. As the men are much exposed to the sun, their complexion is tawny, but delicate, and it is probable that the women are more fair and beautiful. However this may be, Labat assures us, that they amply compensate any deficiency in complexion by their prudence, œconomy, and strict fidelity to their nuptial engagements; gallantry being an enjoyment they are entire strangers to; perhaps because the occasions for practising it rarely offer. They not only live alone, but a man turns away his head when he chances to meet a woman, even his own wife, except at the time appointed for the marriage freedoms. They mutually assist each other in watching the conduct of their wives and daughters, and preventing every man besides the husband from entering their tents. One who is too poor to have separate tents for the women, transacts all business, and

receives visits at the door in the open air; nor are his nearest friends permitted to sit or converse with his wives in the tent. This is a privilege reserved for their horses, or rather mares, which are preferred on account of their beauty, the advantages of breeding, their tameness, and docility. They lie down in their tents mixed promiscuously with the women and children, their little foals being the playfellows of infants, without ever any accidents ensuing.

The dress both of the Moors and Arabs in the country is extremely simple; consisting chiefly of a robe or caftan of serge, woollen stuff, or blue and white cotton; and sometimes of silk, but rarely. This is no other than a large cassock, without buttons, tied round the neck, so wide as to fold two or three times about the body, and bound round the waist by a kind of sash, in the manner of the Turks, to which is suspended a long knife like a bayonet, and sometimes two. Mr. Adamson says, that the dress both of men and women consists in a large shirt, commonly of black linen, and a paan, with which the women cover their head and shoulders; the men sometimes rolling it about their heads in imitation of a turban, and sometimes round the middle like a waist-band. Some of the women wear their hair long and flowing, others again tie it up in a knot, but the men in general are negligent of it, suffering it to hang about their ears, strait or curled as nature intended[d]. All of them wear purses or pouches of cotton, silk, or fine leather, neatly bordered and ornamented by the women. They wear sandals or rather buskins of Morocco leather; and their heads are covered with a red bonnet or cap, bordered with white cotton. Above all their cloaths they frequently wear a kind of long loose robe, of white or striped cotton, or rather woollen stuff, which they call haik, and is extremely becoming and genteel. This robe is adorned with a long pointed hood, that hangs down behind, to the extremity of which hangs a tuft or tassel, by a long string. Many of the poorer sort are however cloathed after the manner of the Negroes, that is, with a bit of cloth wrapped round the waist for decency, the rest of their bodies, arms, and legs, being naked.

As to the women, they dress differently; a cotton shift, with long, wide sleeves, large drawers, and a piece of linen or callico, that covers them from head to foot,

[d] Adamson, p. 67.

flowing

flowing in an eafy manner behind, forms their principal drefs. They all wear pendants and ear-rings, rich in proportion to their ftation and ability; their fingers are loaded with rings; their arms with bracelets; and their legs with chains of brafs or copper.

When a number of tents or cabins ftand together, fo as to form a town or village, in which whole tribes dwell, they call it adouar, which is generally of a circular form, the tents ftanding exceeding thick, and in the center is an empty fpace, by way of fold for their cattle. Every fide of this encampment is watched by centinels, to guard againft furprizes from robbers or wild beafts. On the fmalleft danger, the centinels give the alarm, which is foon fpread over the camp by the barking of dogs and the noife of different animals, upon which every man able to bear arms ftands on his defence, each before his own tent. Thefe adouars are eafily tranfported from place to place, as neither the Moors or Arabs incumber themfelves with a variety of houfhold furniture: all the domeftic implements of a family are contained in one leathern bag or fack, which is hardly the burthen of an ox, or fmall horfe, and eafily tranfported, tent and all, to any diftance, on the back of a camel.

Their common drink is water or milk and whey, and their only bread is cakes made of millet; not that nature has denied them the ufe of wheat and barley, which grow to great perfection in feveral parts of the country; but their continual motion from one country to another, and their diflike to a fixed refidence, deftroys all tafte for agriculture. Were they to fow wheat, other nations might reap it; for no inducement could engage thefe fickle rovers to continue a whole feafon in one place, which they would look upon as a highly culpable inactivity, however ufelefs and unneceffary their rambling excurfions may be.

When they chance to have a ftock of grain, either barley or wheat, they lay it up in deep pits cut out of a rock, fo dry that no granary can exceed them for preferving the corn. They call them matamors, and contrive them with abundance of art, the form being fuch as to caufe a draught of frefh air, through the whole cavern, narrow at the entrance, and gradually enlarging itfelf as you enter, in proportion to its length, which fometimes is upwards of thirty feet. Certain it is, that the grain will keep found for feveral years in thefe fubterraneous ftore-houfes, the

the mouths of which they ſtop up with wood and ſand, after the corn is ſufficiently dry.

The Moors have a kind of portable mills, with which they grind their corn in ſuch quantities as they have occaſion for; and theſe they always carry about with them wherever they go. Authors do not particularly deſcribe the form of theſe mills, but from circumſtances, we have reaſon to believe they are no other than two rough flat ſtones, which, by a circular motion of the uppermoſt, grind the corn lodged between them; a kind of mill ſtones, extremely common in the Hebrides, and many of the weſtern parts of Scotland; and, indeed, among all nations ignorant of the arts. They eat always with the right-hand, the left being wholly appropriated to leſs honourable offices; and inſtead of knives, ſpoons, and forks, they uſe their fingers, with which they form their food in balls, and theſe they chuck with great addreſs into their mouths. If a fowl is dreſſed with rice, they cut it in quarters before it comes to table, to ſave the neceſſity of uſing knives. At their meals they ſquat themſelves down on their hams, ſitting croſs-legged round a covering of Morocco leather, or mat of palm leaves ſpread upon the ground, upon which their diſhes and plates of copper or ivory are laid; and it is a rule with them never to drink till they are juſt quitting the table to go and waſh, a ceremony that cannot be omitted without the greateſt indecency. Two meals a day are the moſt they ever allow themſelves, one in the morning, and another at night; but the women are never permitted to eat with them. Their repaſts are ſhort and ſilent, not a ſyllable paſſing till they have waſhed and returned to the pipe and bottle, or rather coffee, when converſation begins. Although their religion forbids the uſe of wine and ſpirits, yet in private they freely quaff brandy, which they have from the Europeans, and the juice of the grape, or wines made from palms and other trees, ſo abundant in many parts of Africa; nay, their very marbuts diſpenſe with the rigour of the law in this reſpect, when they can do it ſecretly, and without a breach of decorum; for they regard little more than appearances.

This temperance in meals it probably is that renders the Moors and Arabs of Sarah and Biledulgerid abſolute ſtrangers to phyſic and medicine, ſo much cultivated by their predeceſſors. The only diſtempers to which they are ſubject, are pleuriſies and dyſenteries, both which they are ſaid to cure by the application of ſimples internally

nally and externally. As for the gout, gravel, ſtone, and a number of other diſeaſes acute and chronical, the effects of luxury and idleneſs, they are utter ſtrangers to. Barbot indeed ſays, that ſuch is the wholeſomeneſs of the climate of Sarah and Biledulgerid, that the inhabitants live to a great age, without knowing what ſickneſs is, ſeldom dying before the courſe of life is conſumed with years, and the vital heat extinguiſhed from a rigidity of the ſolids, and diminution of the circulating fluids. With them a man at ſixty is in the prime of life, marries and begets children, with all the vigour of an European at thirty; and experience has ſhewn, that the leſs they are connected with foreigners, and the more ſtrictly they adhere to their primitive manners, the fewer are the maladies and diſeaſes with which they are afflicted. In a a word, while they maintain the ſimplicity of their original frugality and rigid œconomy, no people on earth are bleſſed with ſo uninterrupted a flow of health and ſpirits [1].

The paſſionate fondneſs which mothers expreſs for their children, would be extremely commendable, were it not carried to a degree of weakneſs, ſuperſtition, and abſurdity. They diligently watch to prevent every thing that can poſſibly injure them, and are ſo ridiculous in their tenderneſs, as to imagine, that envious, malignant, or what they call an evil eye, can bring diſeaſes and misfortunes upon them: a notion not peculiar to Moors and Arabs, for we find it prevalent among the vulgar in Spain, Portugal, and even the northern kingdoms, where they uſe amulets and other preſervatives againſt the effects of a malicious glance. As for the Moors, they know no other charm againſt an evil eye, than their griſgris, or certain myſterious paſſages tranſcribed by their marbut from the Alcoran. Boys are circumciſed at the age of fourteen years, after which they are at liberty to marry as ſoon as they can maintain a wife, and, indeed, to purchaſe her; for here fathers make an eſtate of a large family of daughters, every one who addreſſes them making preſents to the parents of horſes, camels, and horned cattle. The affection of the huſband is eſtimated by his liberality, and the young lady is never delivered over to him, till he has ſatisfied the parents of his merit, by the extravagance of his preſents. If, upon her coming home, he ſhould find his expectations of her beauty and chaſtity

[1] Leo & Labat, ubi ſupra.

diſappointed,

disappointed, he is at liberty to send her back; but then he must forfeit the presents he has made.

With regard to their funerals, they greatly resemble the ceremonies observed by the Negroes on these occasions. No sooner a Moor has breathed his last, than one of his women, or some relation, puts her head in at the door of the tent, and bursts out in a horrible cry; upon which signal, all the women of the adouar set up a lamentable shriek and dismal yelling, which they utter with all their might, so as to alarm the whole village or camp, upon which all the people assemble round the tent of the deceased, some deploring his loss, and others singing his praises in melancholy strains suited to the occasion. From the lively and natural representation of grief they counterfeit, from their assumed melancholy, feigned tears, and unfelt sighs, one would imagine they were all the friends and kindred of the dead corpse, that bewailed their loss, and did honour to his memory; yet here it is all mere form, that touches not the heart, and is bestowed on all men without distinction of merit. Afterwards the body is washed, properly dressed, and placed on a rising ground to be viewed by all till the grave is dug; then it is interred with the head elevated a little, the face turned to the east, and the grave covered with large stones, to prevent the corpse from being dug up by wild beasts.

The knowledge of the Moors and Arabs of the deserts, is extremely limited, and indeed so scanty, that the marbuts alone are able to read Arabic or any other language, and their learning is confined wholly to the Koran and law of Mohammed: the people are, indeed, plunged into the most deplorable and gross ignorance; the more to be pitied, as they seem possessed of a quickness of apprehension, and those talents which rendered their ancestors famous in science. Some of them, however, have a tolerable notion of astronomy, and talk reasonably, nay with the precision of an European scholar, upon the stars, their number, situation and division into constellations. The clear serene sky in which they live, has greatly assisted their observations; an advantage they have improved by a warm imagination and happy memory: however, it must be acknowleged, that their system of astronomy is so replete with fable and absurdity, that it is difficult in general to comprehend their meaning. But the knowlege they excel in is, that of their interest, in which particular they are out-done by no people in the universe; for

for this they will lie, ſwear, cheat, ſteal, rob, and ſacrifice every human virtue. Yet with all their ignorance and vices, they ſeem by nature to be formed with liberal ſentiments, and a taſte for the more polite arts, as their eſſays in poetry and muſic, which are by no means contemptible, ſeem to indicate. Thoſe who are acquainted with the genius of the oriental tongues, from which their's is derived, or rather a dialect from the Arabic, have been highly delighted with their ſongs, accompanied in recitative by a kind of guitar, the inſtrument in which they take the greateſt pleaſure. From the deſcription of travellers, it would appear rather to be a true lute, an inſtrument the beſt calculated of any, perhaps, to touch the heart, and move the ſofter paſſions, by a delicacy of ſtrain and melody not to be imitated, or indeed equalled, in many of its movements.

One would imagine, from the ſoftneſs and effeminacy of their muſic, that this people cannot be extremely warlike, or at leaſt that the general obſervation on the analogy between the military virtues and the turn for harmony in moſt people, muſt here fail; and indeed, the Europeans remark, that they have neither made any proficiency in the art of war, or ſhew any great eagerneſs to put their ſkill and courage to the teſt. However, if we may judge from ſome of their maxims, they are by no means puſillanimous or cowardly. Can any thing, ſay they, be more daſtardly, than to kill a man before you approach him near enough to be diſtinguiſhed? In conſequence of this opinion, they never attack till they come within the length of their lances, after which they retire to a proper diſtance, and throw their darts, their lances, or ſhoot their arrows, with amazing dexterity. That they ſhould be ignorant of the military maxims, founded on the uſe of fire arms, is by no means extraordinary; ſince they deſpiſe them, and look upon them as the weapons of thieves and robbers. Labat obſerves, that they fight chiefly on horſeback, with ſhort ſtirrups, by which they are enabled to raiſe themſelves high in the ſaddle, and ſtrike with the greater force at a conſiderable diſtance. They never draw up their cavalry in long lines and extended wings, but in ſmall detached ſquadrons, by which means they are leſs liable to be broke or put into confuſion, and more eaſily rallied when ſuch an accident occurs. The agility of their horſes, and their own ſkill in riding, give them great advantages by attacking in all quarters,

quarters, wheeling off, and returning to the charge, with a dexterity that is really amazing [k].

The Moors and Arabs of this country, are in general fond of long journies, and excurſions into remote countries, on the buſineſs of trade and commerce, in which reſpect they are indefatigable and undaunted, no hazard being too great where profit is the motive: as theſe expeditions are undertaken iu large bodies or caravans, they make up the deficiencies in trade by ſtealth, robbery, and plunder; ſeldom returning without rich ladings of gold, ivory, gum, oſtriches feathers, camels hair, ſlaves, and other commodities, which they ſell to the Europeans, or to the merchants of Fez and Morocco. Such is their hardineſs and avarice, that, beſides a journey of four or five hundred leagues, they traverſe a deſert of two hundred miles in length, that affords not a drop of water, except in two places, frequently choaked up with ſand, and yielding but a ſmall quantity of putrid brackiſh water, after infinite pains have been taken to clear away the rubbiſh. The caravans take their courſe from the flight of certain birds, which are obſerved to go and return at ſtated periods, and by a certain invariable route to the inland countries frequented by the Moors and Arabs, the kingdoms of Tombuto, Gago, and Galam. The devout and zealous Mohammedans look upon theſe birds as guides ſent by the prophet to direct them in their journey, and point out the true road they are to purſue, without which they never preſume to undertake an expedition of any conſiderable length and hazard. One would imagine, that, in croſſing vaſt deſerts, ſo ſenſible a people would rely only upon the experience of more rational pilots; but they find their birds infallible, and prefer them to all other guides.

Whole earavans have been buried under mountains of ſand, raiſed by the terrible whirlwinds peculiar to this country, at particular ſeaſons of the year. For this reaſon it is, that the birds never attempt a paſſage croſs the ſandy deſerts but about the ſolſtices, inſtinct or obſervation ſhewing them that tempeſts are leſs to be apprehended at theſe times than at the equinoxes. Labat aſſures us, that the route the caravans take, and the countries they traverſe, are wholly unknown to Europeans, and concealed with the ſame care, that the Negroes ſhew in hiding their mines, and probably for the ſame reaſons: a kind of pre-

[k] Labat, ubi ſup.

ſumption,

ſumption, that the dangers of the journey are conſiderably aggravated by the policy of the Moors and Arabs, who endeavour to monopolize the whole interior trade. The truth is, curioſity alone can make the Europeans deſirous of acquiring a perfect knowlege of the roads to thoſe diſtant inland countries, as it could never turn out to the advantage of trade; all the commodities being purchaſed at leſs expence from the caravans, than they could be brought to the coaſts by the moſt frugal and rigid œconomy of the Dutch, French, or Engliſh merchants[1].

Iſland of Biſſao, its government, religion, and manners.

We ſhall cloſe this ſection with a ſhort view of ſome iſlands, too minute to be reckoned among the number of African iſlands, in a general hiſtory, and yet well deſerving the notice of the reader, by reaſon of the peculiar manners of the inhabitants. Before, we could not deſcribe them, without interrupting the regular geographical courſe which we propoſed. The iſlands we mean, are Biſſao, and a cluſter of ſmall iſlands called the Biſſagos, ſtanding cloſe to the continent, a few leagues ſouth-eaſt of the river Gambia, and in the latitude of eleven degrees north. With the former of theſe, the Portugueſe and French began to trade very early, and the latter have ſtill a factory, and the former a fort on the iſland, both of them very conſiderable in trade. The Dutch likewiſe made ſeveral attempts to ſettle here, as they have done in every other part of the world, where gain could invite them; but never met with ſucceſs. It would be unneceſſary to enlarge upon the nature of the trade carried on by the Europeans, which differs but little from what we have had frequent occaſions to mention, being chiefly with Biafara and the other kingdoms of the continent, ſouth-eaſt of the river Gambia; we ſhall therefore proceed to a deſcription of the iſland and its inhabitants. Biſſao is about thirty-five or forty miles in circumference, having an agreeable proſpect to the ſea, from which it riſes by a gentle aſcent on every ſide, to an eminence in the center of the iſland; there are, however, a number of hills, inferior in height to that in the middle, ſeparated by beautiful and fertile vallies, watered by little rivulets, which at the ſame time augment the richneſs and elegance of the ſcene. Except little groves of palms, every inch of the ground is cultivated, and produces a harveſt equal to the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of the huſbandman. They

[1] Labat, tom. i. cap. 21, 22. Barbot, ubi ſupra. Prevoſt, tom. iii. liv. vi. paſſim.

have

have besides, oranges, mangoes, bananas, and every kind of fruit to be found in the warm climates, and perhaps in greater perfection than in any other place. So rich is the soil, that wheat and maize spring up to the size of Indian corn, or rather resemble a field covered over with reeds or bamboos, to which the islanders add another sort of grain, a species of maize, which they make into cakes, and call fonde. Here they do not bake their maize into bread, as in other parts of Africa, but toast or boil it like rice, which Labat affirms eats pleasantly with beer. The cattle of Bissao are of an extraordinary size, and seem to bear pace with the extravagant growth of the corn; milk and wine are in the greatest abundance; but it affords no swine or horses, the natives forbidding the former to be imported, and something in the soil or climate rendering it unfit for the increase of the latter, which never thrive here [m].

Bissao is no less populous than fertile, and would be still more so, but for the perpetual state of war the natives are in with the neighbouring islands and kingdoms on the continent; yet notwithstanding their number, they live in cottages, dispersed up and down the country, without the least vestige of a town, except where the French and Portuguese have established themselves; nor does the emperor's palace consist of more than a number of irregular huts, which have a communication with each other. In the Portuguese town are about six hundred persons, all of whom speak Portuguese, and pretend that they are natives of Portugal, at least descendants of the Portuguese, though their complexion is jet black, and their dislike to that nation fixed and inveterate. The dress of the women consists of a cotton girdle, which falls down so as not to shock decency, and bracelets of glass, coral, and copper; but virgins go entirely naked; and if they happen to be of high quality, their bodies are marked or painted with a variety of hideous pictures of snakes and other reptiles, that gives their skin some resemblance to a flowered sattin. Even the princess royal herself, the eldest daughter of the emperor of Bissao, is only distinguished from the other ladies by the elegance of those paintings, and the richness of her bracelets. As for the men of all ranks, their only covering is a skin fixed behind and before to the girdle, and coming between their legs, so as to preserve some shew of modesty. One very

[m] Labat, tom. v. p. 133, & seq.

extraordinary,

extraordinary ornament they wear; it is a large iron ring, with a flat round ſurface on the outſide, inſtead of a ſtone, upon which they ring changes with a bit of iron, in ſuch a manner as to converſe with the ſame facility with their caſtanets, as by means of the moſt poliſhed language. Labat ſays, that they wear two rings, one on each hand, which they ſtrike againſt each other, ſo as to produce thoſe intelligible ſounds; a circumſtance that ſhews the clearneſs of their ideas, and the ſtrength of memory with which they are endowed. Beſides this artificial language, which may properly be called inſtrumental, they have another vocal language, uſed upon all common occaſions; the former being only ſpoken by the polite and great.

All the Biſſaons are idolaters, nor has commerce made the ſmalleſt alteration in their manners, to which they are rigidly attached; but their ideas of religion are ſo confuſed, that it would be difficult to enter perfectly into their ſyſtem. Their chief idol is a little image, they call China, of which it would be a hard matter to explain the nature and origin, as its votaries are altogether inconſiſtent and abſurd, in their different tenets. Beſides this, every man creates a divinity according to his own fancy; trees are held ſacred, and, if not adored as gods, they are worſhipped as the reſidence of ſome divinity [n].

As to their government, it is deſpotic, the will of the emperor being the law to his people, of which writers furniſh us with an inſtance commonly practiſed in the country, to the great emolument of his imperial majeſty. This is no other than a preſent which one ſubject makes to the emperor, of the houſe and eſtate of his neighbour, upon which the royal officers take immediate poſſeſſion. The proprietor dares make no reſiſtance, and is forced to ſet about building another, but not before he has obtained leave, though himſelf and family muſt live in the open air till that is done.

At the emperor's death, all his women and ſlaves, for whom he ſhewed the tendereſt regard, are ſacrificed and buried near their maſter, in order to attend him in the next world: formerly it was cuſtomary to bury them alive with him; the late king had but one ſlave buried with him, and his preſent majeſty ſeems, ſays De Brue, inclinable wholly to aboliſh the barbarous cuſtom. When the monarch dies, his body is placed on a bier of reeds, finely decorated, and ſupported by four of the chief officers of the

[n] Ibid. etiam Prevoſt, tom. iii. livr. 6. chap. 9.

court to the grave. There the four noblemen prostrate themselves on their faces upon the ground, and the bier is tossed up several times in the air, till it falls upon one of them; this accident being the signal for electing him king, should the royal blood be undeserving or extinct.

It does not appear, either from history or the tradition of the people, that this empire has ever been troubled with civil wars or discord, notwithstanding this extraordinary manner of electing their prince, and the disputes that might naturally arise from it: a circumstance much in honour of the humanity, good sense, and submission of the people to their sovereign: however, they are almost at perpetual war with some of their neighbours, who are ever making descents upon Bissao, or, in their turn, are insulted by the Bissaons. The natives of Bissago, Biafara, and all the other neighbouring states, are warlike, and fight with extreme fury, though with little discipline. As treaties of peace are not so much as known among these nations, they have no kind of intercourse, except in war; so that no sort of public scheme of politics is carried on among them; and, far from offering their mediation, the Europeans find it their interest to foment their quarrels, as war is their harvest, by augmenting the number of slaves. In general, however, their incursions seldom exceed the space of a week, when the hostile army retires, with as many prisoners as they can make; and after doing all possible damage to the enemy, by burning, plundering, and laying all waste, in their retreat. When the Bissaon emperor resolves to carry on war into the neighbouring territories, he orders the bonbalon to be sounded, which is the general signal to arms, on which all persons in the pay of government assemble themselves at certain head quarters, always fixed and appointed. There they find the royal fleet at anchor, which usually consists of thirty canoes, each carrying thirty men, with all their arms and provisions, under the command of a high admiral; for it is seldom that his imperial majesty puts himself at the head of his fleets or armies. Before the fleet sets sail, sacrifices are made, and heaps of victims offered to the gods, the flesh of which is divided between the court, the priests, and the soldiers. In this consultation of the gods the emperor never fails of having a favourable answer, as, the deities being of wood, it is easy for the priests to direct their answers: and hence it is that the army never enters upon a campaign but with the fullest assurances of success, which makes them support hazard

and

and fatigue with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and alacrity. They then make a deſcent with all poſſible privacy, ſurround the enemy's towns and villages, carry off the inhabitants and every thing of value, and then embark before their troops have time to aſſemble to oppoſe them. Of this booty a moiety appertains to the emperor, and the remainder is divided among thoſe who have been on the attack. The ſlaves are ſold to the Europeans, except where any of them happens to be of quality or fortune, in which caſe he is reſtored to his friends, on condition that they ſend a certain number of ſlaves in his room.

Upon their return, the heroes of the expedition aſſume great importance, in conſequence of their ſervices; they boaſt of the feats of prowefs which they performed, and go round the country, ſhewing their wounds, and relating the wonders they had done and ſeen, with a long train of priſoners behind. Here they do not beat them, as in ſome other parts; but they oblige them to ſing the praiſes of the conquerors; for which they make them preſents of pieces of cloth and other things, which thoſe unhappy perſons immediately ſell in exchange for palm-wine, their only comfort in their diſtreſs. On the other hand, when the expedition has fallen ſhort of expectation in point of honour and profit, then the priſoners run the riſque of being ſacrificed, eſpecially if the Biſſaons have loſt an officer of diſtinction. Thoſe who fall upon ſuch occaſions receive public honours, by dances performed to the muſic of tabors, by order of the emperor or commander in chief. The women, who are the principal performers in theſe funeral rites, expreſs their grief in a manner extremely doleful and affecting, tearing their hair, beating their breaſts with ſuch violence as to mark their ſkin all over, and groaning in ſuch pathetic ſtrains as cannot be expreſſed by words; after which, by way of ſupporting their ſpirits, plentiful libations of palm-wine are poured down: when thus recruited they begin their mourning with redoubled vigour, and continue to ſhed their tears moſt plentifully, till the corpſe is laid in the grave; after which their countenances brighten, and they ſeem to forget in an inſtant how deeply they were affected.

Formerly the Portugueſe had built a fort in Biſſao, which they mounted with eight pieces of cannon, to awe the natives, and prohibit their trading with ſtrangers, or any other foreigners but themſelves: however, the Biſſaons ſoon threw off this ſervitude, and now maintain the

full liberty of receiving all ſtrangers into their ports, who come upon buſineſs of commerce, where they enjoy a perfect ſecurity, under protection of the emperor. But before they are permitted to land, his imperial majeſty conſults the gods by ſacrifices, whether admitting thoſe ſtrangers be for the good of the iſland, and the intereſt of himſelf and people?

When De Brue viſited the French factory in Biſſao, he was received by the Portugueſe governor with the utmoſt politeneſs and hoſpitality; who, on taking leave, put a ſealed writing into De Brue's hands, which he deſired he would peruſe when he got on board ſhip. This was no other than a remonſtrance againſt the French eſtabliſhment, which he looked upon as an infringement of the excluſive rights of the Portugueſe; but politely avoided all diſputes and altercations while the French director had been his gueſt. De Brue anſwered this remonſtrance by a counter inſtrument, written and dated in the road of Biſſao, which he took care ſhould not be delivered till he had his audience of leave of the emperor, and was under ſail for Senegal. The firſt founded the rights of the Portugueſe upon the excluſive privileges granted them when they firſt erected their fort; and the latter, upon the revocation of thoſe rights; the privilege now granted to all ſtrangers, of trading hither; and laſtly, upon the prior claim of the French, from their having reſided at Biſſao ſome hundred years before; an argument which Mr. De Brue deduced from the French arms painted in the chapel, which had all the appearance of being as ancient as the walls of that building. However, both ſides offered their arguments with the utmoſt politeneſs and reſpect for each other's character, and reſolved to prevent perſonal wrangling, by leaving the deciſion of the diſpute to the courts of Verſailles and Liſbon.

It is true, that the emperor's kind reception, and the promiſes he had made to De Brue, conſiderably ſtrengthened his claim, while they proportionably diminiſhed the weight of what had been advanced by the Portugueſe governor; for when the former took his leave at court he was aſked, whether he was fully ſatisfied with the privileges the French factor enjoyed? If not, they ſhould be extended, the emperor ſaid, to the utmoſt of his wiſh. Upon which De Brue made the warmeſt acknowlegements, and a preſent to the emperor, with which he ſeemed highly ſatisfied. In the factory he left a ſurgeon, two interpreters, a ſufficient number of Negroe ſervants, a bark,

bark, a brigantine, and a large shallop, with pilots and seamen, arms, provisions, and merchantable goods; and particularly charged the sieur Cartaing, the superior, to cultivate the friendship of the Portuguese governor, and endeavour to extend their trade; and lastly, if the Portuguese quitted the island, as was then surmised, immediately to take possession of the fort, in the name of the Senegal company. This was an event which the penetrating De Brue foresaw, from the low condition of the trade, could not be very remote; and indeed it so fell out, in spite of all the endeavours of Don Roderigo, the governor, who omitted nothing to support the trade that became a diligent and faithful agent.

After the departure of De Brue, Roderigo had taken every measure to engage him to pay the ten per cent. upon all goods sold in the island, which he said was the undoubted right of the Portuguese; but he never could prevail with all his artifice; and a little while after he was recalled, and the fort abandoned; the Portuguese governor of Cachao representing to the court of Lisbon, that the fort was a charge which the trade of Bissao was unable to support. De Brue lost no time in acquainting his constituents with this transaction, which was transmitted by them to the president Rouille, ambassador in Portugal. After this De Brue went himself to Lisbon, to join his influence with the ambassador's, that the fort might be sold to the Senegal company; but the negociation terminated unsuccessfully, and the Portuguese court took a final resolution to demolish it; which was accordingly done in October 1703 °. This is all that history relates of the manners, laws, government, arts, and commerce of the island of Bissao.

The people called Balontes described.

We shall conclude this section with a brief account of the people called Balontes, on the continent opposite to Bissao, and of the island of Bulam, properly one, and the only one that merits a description, of the Bissagoe islands. The Balontes inhabit the banks of the river Geves, the channel of which separates Bissao from the main land. Their territory is about twelve leagues in length, and about as much in breadth, being, according to some writers, of a square, and, if we credit others, of a circular form. They maintain no correspondence with the other Negroes their neighbours, either on the continent or islands; but live entirely wrapt up abstracted

° Labat, tom. v. ibid. & seq. Prevost, tom. iii. liv. 6. chap. 9.

in themselves. They refuse to intermarry in the most advantageous manner with the adjacent nations; and though they sometimes travel beyond their own limits, yet will they permit no foreign Negroes to pass their frontiers. The religion of the country is idolatry, and the form of government republican, a kind of aristocracy, the state being governed by a few persons chosen out of the elders. No slaves are permitted here, at least no Balontan can be enslaved by his countrymen; such is their love of freedom: and indeed their disposition seems in every respect correspondent; for they are bold, intrepid, and warlike, as the Portuguese barks passing the channel and their neighbours often experience, whom they frequently attack and defeat: but then they are treacherous, crafty, and thievish. Their arms are assagayes, arrows, and sabres.

It is the general opinion, that the Balontans have gold mines in their country, on account of which they prohibit strangers from coming among them; for they are sensible they would run the hazard of being expelled, or at least reduced to a miserable servitude, if once any other nation should get footing in their country. The Portuguese settled at Bissão found grains of gold in the stomachs of some fowls they purchased of the Balontans: they pay their tribute to the monarch of Kazamansa in gold: and this gold is different from that of Galam and Tomba Aura, although they maintain no correspondence with any other countries. Animated by these observations, the Portuguese assembled a large body of troops at Bissão, in the year 1695, which they landed without opposition in the country of Balonta, for the conquest of the province. It was then the rainy season, and their arms and ammunition were soon rendered useless by the moisture of the air. The Balontans, aware of this circumstance, attacked them so vigorously with their assagayes and sabres, like men fighting for freedom, property, and all that was dear to them, that they soon routed the Portuguese, and forced them to retire, with a considerable loss of men, and of all their ammunition and stores [d].

Not far from hence is the island of Bassu, or Baissi, as Labat calls it, about thirty-five leagues in circumference, all covered with trees, and finely watered with brooks and rivulets. The natives are Papels; with whom it is

[d] Labat, ibid.

dange

dangerous trafficking, as no people can be more treacherous, cruel, and thievish.

Of the Bissagoe islands.

South-west of Bassu lie the Bissagoe isles, of which we call Bulam one, though father Labat reckons only under this general name the islands of Casuabac, La Gallina, Cazegut, Calacha, Orangnana, and some others of less consideration. The distance from the mouth of the Rio Grande, south-west of the river Gambia, to the island of Bulam, is about two leagues. It is about ten leagues in length from east to west, and five in breadth from north to south, the whole coast bordered with woods, beyond which the country is fertile, rich, and beautiful. It is every-where covered with rice, maize, millet, fruits, and roots, though the island is said to be uninhabited, and cultivated by the natives of the other islands, who come hither in seed and harvest time, returning home for the rest of the year. The ground rises imperceptibly from the shore for the space of two leagues, exhibiting a most agreeable prospect. This ascent serves as a base to higher mountains, which stand in the center of the island, covered with fine wood, and divided by beautiful vallies, with so much regularity, that nature would seem to have been improved by art. One commodity it produces, which might certainly be improved greatly to the advantage of navigation; this is a tree called michery, which grows to a great height, is easily worked, at the same time that it is hard and solid, and particularly adapted to ship-building, as it is proof against worms; and the reason given is, that all its pores are filled with a bitter oil, which is fatal to that insect [e].

Each of the Bissagoe islands is governed by a chief who takes the state and title of king. All those monarchs are perfectly independent, and frequently at war with each other; yet do they always unite against the Biafarans, the common enemy. They have canoes that carry from twenty-five to forty men, each with their provisions and arms, which are sabres, and bows and arrows. The Negroes of these islands are tall, strong, and healthy, though they live only on fish, nuts, and palm oil, chusing rather to sell the rice, millet, and other produce of the earth, to the Europeans, than baulk their passion for trinkets and ornaments. In general, they are idolaters, cruel and savage in their disposition, not only to strangers but to one another, when they happen to quarrel, as they frequent-

[e] Prevost & Labat, ubi supra.

ly do about trifles: if disappointed of their revenge, they will drown or ferociously stab themselves[f]. As none of the Bissagoe islands are inhabited by the Europeans, it would not be worth while to dwell upon a minute description of them; and indeed we are too little acquainted with their government and natural history to render such an account either entertaining or instructive.

SECT. VII.

Containing a more minute geographical Description of the different Kingdoms and Provinces of the great Countries of Zanaga and Biledulgerid, with the Origin and Source of the Rivers Niger and Senegal; an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of these Nations; their Wars, Trade, Language, and the Produce of their respective Countries; with some Account of their Traffick with the Nations on the Barbary Coasts in the Mediterranean, by Means of their Caravans, &c.

Deserts of Zaara and Sarah.

MODERN geographers have divided almost the whole interior continent of Africa into two great divisions, namely, Upper and Lower Ethiopia; the former of which we have already described, and as to the latter, its precise limits cannot be determined, on account of the disagreement of authors. The greater number of geographers, however, include within this division all those kingdoms and states from the 9th to the 25th degrees of north latitude, and the 10th and 11th degrees of east and west longitude, from the meridian of London; an immense tract, comprehending an infinity of kingdoms, mountains, rivers, lakes, some of which we have been describing, as well as our imperfect accounts will admit of. Perhaps the most distant boundaries of the Upper and Lower Ethiopia may be marked by the course of the two great rivers, that intersect it at right angles; the Nile running from south to north, and the Niger from east to west, the Lower Ethiopia being contained in the angle made by these two rivers, of which the

Geography of the country.

The Arabian division of Lower Ethiopia.

[f] Iid. ibid. ubi supra.

coast

coaſt is the arc, meaſuring about fifteen or ſixteen degrees (A).

As we have given an account of the kingdoms ſouth of the Niger, which moſt writers call the Senegal, we ſhall now begin with a deſcription of thoſe to the northward, and firſt with a deſcription of the Deſert of Saraa, Zaara, or Zahara, of which we have already ſpoken in general terms. This vaſt inhoſpitable region, properly called Zahara, or the Deſert, ſtretches itſelf from the Atlantic ocean on the weſt to the kingdoms and deſerts of Barca and Nubia on the eaſt, and from Biledulgerid on the north to Nigritia or the river Senegal on the ſouth, comprehending a ſpace of about five hundred miles in breadth from north to ſouth, and at leaſt fifteen hundred miles in length from weſt to eaſt [a].

The Arabians divide this immenſe tract of land into three general diviſions or claſſes; viz. Cahel, Zahara, and Aſgar: that is, the Sandy, Stony, and Marſhy Deſerts, according to the nature of the ſoil; but the moſt common diviſion is into provinces, which, according to Marmol and Leo, amount to ten; viz. the two territories of Nun, the Deſerts of Zanaga or Senegal, Zaaza, Zuenziga, Hayr or Targa, Lempta, Berdoa, Sate, and Abguechet (B). Other later geographers, with more accuracy, diſtinguiſh the Deſerts into ſeven provinces only, under which are comprehended all the inferior diviſions; and theſe are Zanaga, Zuenziga, Targa or Hayr, Lempta or Iguidi, Bardoa, Bornou, and Gaoga. *The modern diviſion.*

[a] Cluv. Geogr. vide Afric. Leo Africanus, vide p. 145. & ſeq. Marmol, vide cap. x. lib. 1.

(A) Within this diviſion Marmol, Leo Africanus, Sanutus, Dapper, and others, include half of Nigritia; the Niger dividing it into North and South Nigritia, or Negroland: the latter comprehending the kingdoms of Mandingo, Melli, Kaſſon, Guialon, Inta, Gago, and a variety of others, of which we ſcarcely know the names: and the former thoſe kingdoms bordering on the north of the Niger, and thoſe ſtill farther north, till we come to Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tripoli, Barca, and Egypt.

(B) Some writers place ſeveral of theſe provinces within the diviſion of Biledulgerid, and deſcribe Zahara between the kingdoms of Gaoga and Gualata (1).

(1) Vide Cluver. Geograph. Afric. Gen. Marmol. tom. i. p. 28. Leo Afric. p. 152.

Theſe

Manners of the inhabitants.

These provinces are supposed to have been formerly inhabited by the Getuli and Garamates, the former of which were likewise in possession of Biledulgerid, or Numidia; and at present, besides those nations we have described under the names of Moors and Arabs, it contains other inhabitants, called Berebers, or Barbaries, more civilized, sociable, and refined in their manners, than either the Moors or Arabs, whose chief characteristic is brutality, insolence, sickleness, and a certain savage ferocity, almost peculiar to them. The Barbaries live in fixed habitations, are of a tractable disposition, carrying on a commerce with strangers, are civil and hospitable, and generally speaking, honest and faithful to them. Their religion as well as that of the Arabs their oppressors, is Mohammedism; but so corrupted that little of the fundamental doctrine can be discovered among them. In different provinces they speak different dialects of the Arabesk or African language, of which we have no distinct idea; though we are informed by learned travellers, that the analogy between all of them is so great, as easily to be reduced to the primitive root, though they are scarce able by them to converse with each other. The chief commodities of these countries are camels, horned cattle, horses, dates, the fat and feathers of ostriches, and the gum Senegal, of which we have spoken at large. On the coast of Angra, half way between Cape Blanco and Cape Bajadore, in the latitude of 26 deg. north, the Hidil Arabs deal largely in gold dust. Marmol relates, that this likewise is the chief branch of commerce in which the Dulcim Arabs engage: a people equally powerful for their wealth and numbers, and at perpetual war with the Hidils, their northern neighbours. In a country so hot and sandy, lying under the third and fourth northern climate, it cannot be expected the soil should be fertile, or the produce of the earth valuable. The best are the countries situated on the northern banks of the Senegal; these being better watered, peopled, and cultivated, on account of the commerce carried on by means of this river, particularly the kingdoms or provinces of Gualata, Guber, Zanfara, Agzade, Cano, Barnou, and Goaga, which produce corn, rice, millet, and a variety of fruits; though, except dates, perhaps little more than is sufficient for the purposes of the inhabitants.

An animal called Adimnaim.

Besides the camels and common cattle, this country is remarkable for a species of domestic animal, called Adimnaim, bred here in great plenty. It is a kind of sheep, about

about the size of an ass, with long hanging ears. The females have horns, but not the males, and the wool of both is soft and fine, but short. So strong is this animal that it is capable easily of carrying a man for several miles, and so gentle that it never refuses a burden. One would imagine, from what we have said in this and the last section, that nothing could be superadded to the misery of the inhabitants, whose lot has thrown them upon this barren, sandy, parched, and sultry spot of the globe; yet we find these evils aggravated by the incredible droves of the fiercest animals, lions, tigers, wolves, and other savage devourers of mankind, as well as by those bloody and cruel wars which are perpetually carried on against the unhappy Negroes, whom the Moors and Arabs deprive of their liberty, to support a trade with the kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, and other barbarous and maritime states, extended along the southern coast of the Mediterranean, whilst the Negroes content themselves with butchering, in revenge, all the Zaharians that fall into their hands [b].

A prodigious sand bank.

Among the natural curiosities of this tract of land, it would be unpardonable to omit that stupendous bank of sand near Cape Bajadore, on the west of Sarah, which stretches along that coast, and against which the sea forms so strong a current, that both water and sand are in a continual agitation, mingled together, and throwing up such prodigious waves, that it resembles, as our author expresses it, a boiling salt-pan of a monstrous size, which spouts up the dirty water to an astonishing and dreadful height, when the wind happens to set against the current. Travellers also make mention of two tombs in the province of Azavad, with inscriptions, importing, that the unhappy persons interred there were a wealthy merchant and a poor carrier, both perishing with excessive thirst, after the former had given the latter ten thousand ducats for one cruse of water, which he drank and immediately expired [c]; while the other did not long survive him, to enjoy the fruits of his avarice (C).

[b] Baudrand, sub voce Sarah. Leo Africanus, ubi supra. [c] La Croix, p. 1. cap. 2. § 10.

(C) This story we find in Dapper and some other writers; but how it came to be known that such a bargain was made between the unfortunate sufferers, is difficult to conjecture, as we are not told that they had any companions. What we mentioned it for, was on account of the inscription.

To

Of the province of Zanaga.

To give the reader the most distinct account of this great tract of country that our materials will admit of, we shall describe the different provinces and deserts into which it is divided, beginning our account with the most western. And first, the province of Zanaga, or Senegal, extends itself from the river of that name, on the south, to the province of Suz, on the north, bounded on the west by the Atlantic ocean, and on the east by the territories of Seram, Sunda, and Zuenziga. It contains two deserts, Azvo and Taguzza, or Taggost, the last of which produces a prodigious quantity of rock salt, which is conveyed hence into all the neighbouring countries, to Nigritia on the south, and the maritime kingdoms on the north: the chief use of it in the desert being to moisten the mouth, parched with the sultry heat, and preserve the gums against a scorbutic disorder, to which the natives are subject. The country is incredibly fatiguing and dangerous to travellers, especially if the summer proves dry, as there is scarce a drop of water to be found for thirty leagues together, and the little that is found, so brackish that it is equally unwholsome and unpalatable. Nor do the cattle fare better, as the earth does not yield a blade of grass, or any thing for their sustenance; a circumstance which obliges passengers to carry provisions for themselves, and forage for their beasts of burden. Besides, the country is so flat and sandy, without mountains, woods, rivers, lakes, or any mark to take a direction by, that it were next to impossible for the most experienced persons to find their way, but for those droves of birds which we mentioned in the last section, which serve for guides. Yet, after all, it is inhabited by a great number of different nations, the Berviches, Ludayers, Duleyns, and Zenequi, some of which are so numerous as to raise ten, fifteen, and twenty thousand men; besides a variety of Arab tribes, no less numerous, potent, and warlike; who by force and artifice live chiefly upon the former, and carry off whole droves of cattle, which they exchange at Dara and other countries for dates and provisions, the former and milk being their chief food. The Zenequi boast of their nobility and antiquity, like most other poor and obscure nations, priding themselves upon those things which are not worth disputing with them: they even pretend that the kings of Tombuto are descended from them [d].

[d] Marmol, tom. i. p. 24.

The

The Portuguese first discovered this coast, in the year 1433, when they ventured to double Cape Nun, beyond which they had never gone before that time. Thirty miles beyond, or south of Cape Nun, is Cape Bajadore, where they were forced to stop for some time, because the coast, which here projects about forty leagues, reverberated the sea with so strong a reflux, that it drove them back, the banks of sand, which rose to a great height, terrifying the seamen from keeping close to the shore; and it was unusual in those days to launch far into the ocean. Thirty leagues farther, on the same western coast, is the flat shore called Los Ravios, on account of the great quantity of fish the Portuguese found there; and about twelve leagues still farther south the coast to which they gave the name De los Cavalieros, because there they had landed some horses. Twelve leagues farther south the sea forms a kind of channel, which they called the Golden River, or Rio del Or, having received a great quantity of that precious metal here, in exchange for some Moorish prisoners they set at liberty. This was the first gold from this country that had ever been seen in Portugal. About the same distance farther south is the bay of Sintia, which leads to the port of Cavaliero; and about thirty leagues farther stands Cape Blanco, discovered anno 1441, lying, as we have said, in nearly the 21st deg. of north latitude, the sea falling in more eastward, so as to form a kind of curve to the mouth of the river Senegal. About thirty-five miles farther stands Arguim, formerly called in the aggregate the Seven Rocks, but each distinguished by a particular name: these we have already described, and shall therefore proceed to the next province, south of Zanaga [a].

Cape Bajadore.

Cape Blanco discovered.

Leo and Marmol give this territory the name of Gualata, and the same has been preserved by modern geographers, though they all disagree about its right situation and boundaries. Gualata has Zanaga on the north, the river Senegal on the south, the provinces of Sunda and Zuenziga on the east, and the Atlantic ocean on the west. The country is poor, sandy, and barren; hath only some inconsiderable villages and mean hamlets scattered up and down: corn and flesh are scarce and dear; the inhabitants, called Benais, rude and unpolished, though civil and courteous enough to those who trade with them; in a word, they are a miserable and despicable people, doomed to a poor, a barbarous, and savage

Gualata province described.

[a] Leo Afric. p. 18. La Croix, tom. ii. part. i. chap. 8. p. 1.

life,

life, in one of the worst soils and climates under heaven. They have neither learning nor laws, though they live by consent under the direction and authority of cheyks, or chiefs, and in their commerce make use of the Arabic notation. In general, both men and women have a natural shyness and modesty, if we may attribute to bashfulness that universal custom of covering their faces with veils. This at least is the reason assigned by Marmol for this practice, which we had rather explain by conveniency; experience having taught them to defend their eyes and faces against the sun-beams, reflected with great force by the white sand that covers the face of the whole country. We are told, that formerly they lived under a monarchical government, and had their own elective kings; but how they came to be reduced to their present state of anarchy history is silent; and indeed there is little more than the assertions of Leo Africanus[f], in proof that their situation has ever been different. Though they live, according to Dapper, a life perfectly free from the restraint of all government, yet the Portuguese writers affirm, that all these provinces were first subject to the kings of Zanaga, and now to the monarch of Tombuto, who however does not pretend to govern them by a viceroy, or to assume any other dominion over them than the exaction of a small tribute. During their monarchical state they had a capital of the same name with the province; at present their chief village, (for towns they have none), is called Hoden, which stands, if we may credit Sanutus, about six days journey from Cape Blanco, on a different spot from where the old capital Gualata stood, the precise situation of which is not known. Hoden consists of a few cottages, assembled or rather huddled together, without form, method, walls, gates, or any thing that can give it the air of a capital, or indeed of a place inhabited by rational beings. The people are fond of the Zangay or Sangay language; they worship fire; and once a considerable trade had been carried on with the neighbouring provinces, and even with the kingdoms of Morocco and Fez on the north, and all the countries along the Niger on the south and east. The inhabitants of Hoden live better than those of the other parts of the province, having goats, camels, and ostriches in abundance, the eggs of the latter being esteemed the most delicious food: but they are rather more exposed to the devastations of lions,

[f] Leo Afric. p. 4.

tigers,

tigers, and other fierce animals, bred in greater numbers here than in almost any other place in Africa [g].

The desert of Zuenziga described.

As to the province or desert of Zuenziga, it is still, if possible, more dry and barren than either Gualata or Zanaga, and nature would seem to have exerted herself in rendering it the most inhospitable of all countries, and the inhabitants the most wretched of the human kind. It is bounded by the two former provinces on the west, by Twarges and Zanzara on the east, by the river Senegal or the desert of Ghir on the south, and on the north by Sunda and the desert of Cogden; these limits however not being entirely agreed upon by geographers, neither African or European, ancient or modern. All merchants going from Tremecen to the kingdoms of Tombuto, Agades, or Uzza, and other southern or south-east countries, are obliged to pass through this province in their route, by which we may nearly fix its situation, and the hardships those travellers must undergo in such a journey. We are told indeed, that of large caravans seldom half the number either of men or beasts ever return, most of them dying of thirst, hunger, fatigue, or under the whirlwinds of sand, with which they are overwhelmed and smothered. This calamity happens more particularly in the deserts of Cogden, where, for nine days journey, hardly the smallest brook, fountain, or pool, is to be met with, except it has lately rained; and even then in so small a quantity as scarce to moisten the lips of parched travellers. The inhabitants of this district are partly native Africans and partly Arabs, between whom Leo and Marmol constantly make a difference; the latter exact a kind of tribute of the Seguelmessans, a people of Biledulgerid, for some land of their's, which they cultivate, and there breed an incredible number of cattle, with which they wander for fresh pasture as far as the kingdom Yguid. They likewise breed a great variety of beautiful horses; and are so expert horsemen and warriors, that they are become formidable to the princes of Barbary, who chiefly study to live on good terms with these wild Arabs: nor are they less dreaded by the Negroes, whose inveterate enemies they are; making them prisoners on all occasions, and selling them, as any other commodity, to the people of Fez, Morocco, and other kingdoms of Barbary, in return for which they are treated by the Negroes with no more humanity, who mangle their bodies, and, if we

g Auct. sup. citat.

may

may credit Dapper, broil and eat their prisoners. Both Arabs and Moors, and indeed all the inhabitants of this country have little other food than milk and dates, which they import in great quantities from Biledulgerid [h].

Desert of Cogden.

North of Zuenziga is the territory of Sunda and the desert of Cogden, just now described, and Azured, together with Seram, differing from it in nothing, with respect to the savage disposition of the inhabitants and poverty of the country. In the desert of Azured, which De Lisle places in 21 deg. 19 min. north latitude, and 19 longitude, there is, however, a large lake of brackish water, formed by the rains which fall during the three wet months. This alone it is that renders these deserts more supportable than the preceding [i].

Desert of Targa or Hayr.

We next come to the province or desert of Twarges, Targa, or Hayr; the first of these names being given it from the people, the second from the desert itself, and the last from its capital; though Africanus denies, that there is a city in the province, or indeed a village of that name. It must be owned, that nothing can be more dark, perplexed, and defective, than the accounts which writers give of all this interior part of Africa, where they seem to speak more upon conjecture than authority, and to be obliged rather to a fertile invention than to travel, or the study of the best historians, or rather of the globe and charts. This in general we are assured of, that the province of Targa is less barren, dry, desert, and sultry, than any of the preceding; that it has a variety of good wells for fresh water, dug deep in the ground; that the sand produces several kinds of culinary vegetables, and some grass; that the climate is wholesome; and that great heaps of manna are gathered here, particularly on the frontiers towards Agades, which the Negroes collect in calabashes, and export for sale to the neighbouring kingdoms. They also dissolve it in the water where they boil their food, and esteem it cooling and wholesome, insomuch that to this they attribute their being more healthy than the inhabitants of Tombuto, although the air and climate are deemed less salutary. The Arabs and Barbars, as they are called by Marmol, drive a great slave-trade with the northern kingdoms, and in this consists their principal wealth [k].

[h] Leo Afric. p. 244. [i] Baudrand, sub hac voce. [k] Leo Afric. p. 245.

South

South of Targa is the desert of Agades, taking its name from a neighbouring kingdom, of which we shall speak below; and a little farther south stands the kingdom of Jansara, which begins to assume the face of a fertile country, producing corn, rice, Turkey wheat, coffee in abundance, and even gold, according to some writers. The inhabitants are of a jet black complexion, and hideous aspect, their faces large, flat, and frightful; but tall, strait, and well-shaped in their persons. It hath a metropolis of its own name, situated under the twelfth degree of east longitude, and seventeen and a half north latitude. Of late years it hath been subdued by the king of Tombuto, who caused the natural princes to be inhumanly poisoned, and many of his subjects barbarously cut to pieces, after their surrendering at discretion; a custom commonly practised wherever any of the Arabs or Moors fall into the hands of the Negroes. Farther south, and lying a great way eastward, stands the kingdoms of Guber and Cano, towards the northern banks of the river Senegal, or rather the Niger; for they lie east of the lake Mabeira, for some hundred miles. Some writers affirm, that the river passes through the middle of these kingdoms, splitting them into southern and northern divisions; an assertion which is a little improbable, as every part of each is governed by the same laws, the same monarch, and the same customs; a thing unusual among Negroes, who, for the most part, make such a barrier the extreme frontiers of their dominions. The northern division of Guber runs, we are told, almost three hundred miles east of Gogo, and is parted from it by a vast desert, totally destitute of water, and forty leagues distant from the Niger. It is surrounded by high mountains, and its numerous villages are inhabited by shepherds and other herdsmen. It abounds with rice, millet, barley, and pulse, is well stocked with cattle of various kinds and sizes; hath several ingenious artificers, particularly linen and cotton weavers; and the people in some parts of their dress resemble the old Romans, especially in the tunics and sandals, which are directly of the same form. All the fields of the southern Guber are overflown at the inundation of the Niger, which rises annually like the Nile; and the natives have the satisfaction of seeing an early and plentiful crop without farther trouble. Leo Africanus [1] says, that here is a capital, inhabited by six thousand families, among whom

Desert of Agades.

Kingdom of Guber.

[1] P. 252.

are many rich merchants, who trade to all the kingdoms on the south and north; nay, even as far as the Mediterranean and the banks of the Red Sea. In this writer's time Izchia, king of Tombuto, slew the monarch of Guber in a pitched battle, made eunuchs of his sons, kept his court some time in the conquered kingdom, and afterwards governed it by lieutenants or viceroys, who tyrannized over the people, oppressed and impoverished the merchants, nobility, and wealthy part of the nation, which was thus reduced to the most abject misery.

Kingdom of Cano. Cano, through which the Niger is supposed likewise to pass [m], dividing it into southern and northern divisions, or rather, by the deflection the river makes, into two kingdoms, standing east and west, is of prodigious extent, stretching eastward for the space of five hundred miles. In the very center of the kingdom stands a city of the same name, in latitude 15° 30′, and longitude 12° 10′ east of London, which precisely ascertains the situation of the kingdom. The walls and houses of this capital are built with loam and clay, in a neat and commodious manner: the inhabitants are merchants chiefly; rich, industrious, and hospitable: but, in general, the people are herdsmen and husbandmen, dwelling in villages thickly strewed over the face of the country. However, like all the other kingdoms of Lower Ethiopia, it hath its deserts and sandy barren spots, though frequently a mountain, beautifully clothed with wood, refreshes the eye, fatigued with so desolate a prospect, and furnishes the weary traveller with a cool draught of pure and wholesome water; a thing more precious than gold in those ill-fated countries. In these woods are likewise great store of citrons, oranges, and wild lemons, most delicious and welcome to the parched peasant; which circumstances set Cano far before all the other kingdoms of Ethiopia that we have yet described, and indeed upon a footing with most of the provinces of Abyssinia and the Higher Ethiopia. The monarch of Cano had formerly been potent and formidable to his neighbours, on account of the large standing armies of horse which he always kept: but he has since been tributary to the kings of Zegzeg and Casena, who were afterwards treacherously slain by Izchia, king of Tombuto, a prince the most artful and insidious of his time. He had here insinuated himself under the most

[m] Baudrand, sub voce.

specious

ſpecious pretences, into the moſt intimate confidence, which terminated in their ruin. He then waged war with the king of Cano, whom, after a long ſiege, he took, and, obliging him to marry one of his daughters, reinſtated him in the throne, on condition that he ſhould pay into the treaſury of Tombuto a third of all his tributes, ſays Leo Africanus, for the receipt of which their ambaſſadors conſtantly reſided at both courts [n]. The kingdoms of Cano and Guber properly belong to Nigritia, or the ſouthern ſide of the Niger; but as geographers place ſome part of them on the north, it was thought convenient, for the more complete view of the whole country, to give an account of them here.

Province of Lempta and deſert of Yguida.

On the north ſide of the Senegal and eaſt of Targa are the province of Lempta and deſert of Yguida; the former, according to geographers, being the name of the inhabitants, and the latter of the province. In proportion as we go eaſtward from the ſea-coaſt, the kingdoms of Africa are leſs known to Europeans; and all that is related of Yguida is, that it is more barren, miſerable, and deſert, than any of the preceding; that it is dangerous to travellers, not only by the exceſſive heat of the climate, the ſcarcity of water, and the ſand tornados, which frequently bury them alive, but from the ſavage and brutiſh ferocity of the people. They are a race of native Africans, who rob, plunder, and deſtroy all that come in their way; but their rage is more eſpecially levelled againſt the Guergelans, a nation to the northward, ſeparating Yguida from Barbary. To this country, which they affirm to have been a province of Yguida, they lay claim, never omitting an opportunity of deſtroying the inhabitants with the moſt barbarous fury, as if they would terrify them into a ſubmiſſion; though in fact they take the moſt effectual meaſure to ſteel and harden them againſt the yoke of ſuch mercileſs tyrants. Through this inhoſpitable region the caravans from Conſtantina, and other towns of Algiers and Tunis, to Nigritia, are forced to paſs, equally in danger of periſhing by thirſt, hunger, and the ſword; yet ſuch is their attachment to commerce and love of money, that they intrepidly encounter all thoſe hazards and difficulties.

Kingdoms Agades.

The kingdom of Agades is placed by Leo Africanus and Marmol directly eaſt of Yguida, though moſt modern geographers, and particularly Baudrand and De Liſle, de-

[n] Leo Afric. p. 253. a, b.

ſcribe it ſouth and ſouth-eaſt of it, ſeparating the deſerts of Lempta, that is, the ſouthern diviſion of Yguida, from the kingdom of Cano. On the eaſt it has the kingdom of Bornou; on the north-north-eaſt, the deſert of Lempta, and kingdom or province Yguida, on the ſouth, Cano; and is ſurrounded on the weſt by the provinces Zapara, Guber, and a large nameleſs lake north of the Niger, and joined to it by a river. This province is divided into two diſtricts, the northern called, on account of its barrenneſs, the Deſert, and the ſouthern, prolific in graſs, corn, and cattle. Indeed nothing can be more oppoſite than the face of thoſe two diſtricts, the one clothed with a perpetual verdure, well watered, and moderately cool and temperate; the other ſandy, ſultry, and the few ſhrubs and blades of graſs it puts forth ſcorched up and burnt by the ſun, whoſe beams are reflected with ſuch heat, as to be intolerable to the eyes of travellers. Mr. De Liſle mentions three conſiderable towns in the fertile diviſion, viz. Agad, the capital of the whole province, Deyhir, and Secmana, little inferior in wealth and populouſneſs to the metropolis. He alſo obſerves, that ſena is produced here in great abundance; in which article and manna conſiſts the principal trade of the natives [o]. The ſouthern inhabitants feed vaſt droves of cattle of all ſizes and denominations: they live in the open country, and, for the conveniency of paſture, wander about, like the Arabs, from place to place, where they build ſlight huts for the occaſion, without regard to order or conveniency. Agad, the metropolis, or Andegaſt, as the Arabs call it, ſtands in a valley between two high mountains, and at the ſpring head of a nameleſs river, that waters the whole ſouthern country by innumerable little ſtreams and rivulets, that either flow from it or diſcharge themſelves into it, at laſt emptying itſelf in the lake De Garda, and after that in the Senegal [p]. La Croix ſays, that the inhabitants are chiefly merchants, and ſtrangers ſettled there, who have encloſed the town with walls, and built their houſes in the Moreſco faſhion. There are beſides a great number of artifices and ſoldiers, with the prince's guards: for though this monarch is ſaid to be tributary to the king of Tombuto, yet he preſerves the ſtate and ſplendor of a deſpotic, powerful, and independent prince.

Province of Berdoa. Berdoa, ſituated exactly north-eaſt of Agades, is the next province, having Faiſon and Barca on the north, Ca-

o Vide Geog. Afric. ubi ſupra. p La Croix.

no

no and Agades on the ſouth-weſt, Nubia on the eaſt, and Bornou on the ſouth. This province ſtretches from the 16th to the 22d deg. of eaſt longitude, and comprehends a ſpace of three parallels, that is, from the 20th to the 23d deg. of north latitude, and beyond, if we reckon a dreadful deſert, which extends to the 24th deg. The province has taken its name from the capital, which lies directly under the tropic of Cancer, though De Liſle ſays, that the original name of the inhabitants was Bardoaits; and ſo far from having a fixed metropolis, they have no towns at all, but live in tents, on the plunder of merchants and paſſengers. He acknowleges indeed, that on the weſtern frontier, almoſt under the tropic, there is a town or city called Arcan, near the borders of Lempta, and another farther north, named Rou dan Mahalat. Under 24° 36′ the ſame geographer places a third town, which he calls Medheran Iſa: on the north of which are the wells which ſupply both it and the ſurrounding country with water. Near the mountains which form the northern barriers between this province and Tripoli, or rather Faiſan, ſtands the town of Kala, where are kept ſome conſiderable fairs, whither reſort the merchants from every part of Zaara, or Sarah, the kingdoms on the north and ſouth of the Niger, and the nations bordering upon the Mediterranean ſea, with all the wealth of their ſeveral countries [q]. This whole northern diſtrict is occupied by a people called Levata, or Lebetai, who live moſtly in tents, although they have three ſmall towns, called Aial, Ain, and Cais, belonging to them. However, what M. De Liſle intends more properly for the province of Berdoa is confined within narrower limits, north of the tropic, containing only five or ſix villages and three caſtles. In general the country is dry, barren, and productive of no one commodity that merits a particular deſcription.

Kingdom of Bornou.

With the river Niger on the ſouth, Berdoa on the north, Agades on the weſt, and Gaoga on the eaſt, ſtands the province or kingdom of Bornou, extending from 12 to 22 deg. of eaſt longitude, and from 17 to 21 deg. of north latitude. The northern part is poor, and of a piece with the other provinces of Zahara; but all the reſt, which is the greater part, is well watered by ſprings and rivers, that tumble down with a dreadful noiſe from the mountains, render the country prolific in corn, graſs, and

q De Liſle, ibid.

fruits, and give a pleasing aspect; the very reverse of any thing we have lately beheld [r]. Both extremes, the eastern and western frontiers, are inhabited by a people of a roving disposition, who live in tents, have their women, children, and every thing besides in common, the word property, or any idea equivalent to it, being utterly unknown; without religion, laws, government, or any degree of subordination; and from hence they have been supposed by a famous geographer to be the lineal descendents of the Garamantes, and this to have been the residence of that people [s]. The eastern and western frontiers are divided into mountains and vallies, which to the eye of a traveller have a very agreeable effect, all of them covered with flocks of cattle, fields of rice and millet, and many of the mountains with wood, fruit-trees, and cotton. In hot weather the natives, who are almost to a man shepherds and husbandmen, go naked, except a short apron before, which they wear out of regard to modesty; but in the winter they are warmly cloathed with the softest sheep-skins, of which they also form their bed-cloaths: and indeed this is scarce a sufficient defence against the inclemency of the weather at certain seasons of the year, when a cold piercing wind blows from the northern mountains, that chills the blood in proportion as the pores of the body have been opened by the late scorching heats. Baudrand and Dapper [t] affirm, that the natives are but a degree superior to brutes in their understanding and manners, having no names or appellations whereby to distinguish each other, except what they derive from some personal defect or peculiarity, such as lean, fat, squinting, hump-backed, lank, lame, scabby, or some such epithet. In the towns, it is acknowleged, that the people are somewhat more polished and refined; and towards the south, it is allowed on all hands, they have towns and regularly formed societies, though of what particular nation we know not. Here they are tractable, polite, and hospitable; and a great part of them artificers and merchants, of all countries and complexions, a mixture which has probably occasioned the improvement of their manners. The king is said to be so rich as to have all his houshold furniture, and even his stirrups, spurs, and bridles, of solid gold: whence we may infer, that either a great traffic in the precious metal is carried on here with the di-

[r] Leo Afric. p 255. [s] Cluver. Geog. [t] Baudrand, p. 205. Dapper, ibid.

stant

ſtant countries, that Bornou itſelf produces gold, or at leaſt that ſome of the neighbouring kingdoms do, from whence it is imported hither. On the north-weſt ſtands the mountain of Tanton, rich in good iron mines; and on the ſouth flows the Niger, which, after running a great number of leagues under a long chain of mountains, rears up its head again, and mingles its ſtream with the waters of the lake Bornou in its courſe, from whence it waſhes the walls of the capital of this province. Its capital is a conſiderable city of the ſame name with the province, beſides which there are the towns of Amozen, Sagra, and Semegondo, all of them to the northward of the metropolis, and to the eaſtward thoſe of Nebrina and Sama. Of any of theſe towns there is very little known, and ſome writers have gone ſo far as to queſtion their exiſtence. Baudrand, however, ſays, that the capital is ſituated on the northern bank of the Niger, and drives a briſk trade with all the ſurrounding countries, it being the only place in the whole province that merits the name of a city, all the reſt being open towns or large villages.

Of the province of Gaoga.

We come now to deſcribe the laſt and moſt eaſtern province of the vaſt deſert of Zaara or Sarah, called by the natives and all geographers Gaoga or Kaughga, ſtanding contiguous on the eaſt to Nubia, and on the north to Egypt, with which we began our hiſtory of this quarter of the globe. Gaoga is bounded on the weſt by the kingdoms of Bornou and Berdoa, on the north by part of the latter province, and on the ſouth by the kingdom of Gorham, which, with Medra to the weſt, and Gingiro and Majac to the ſouth, are commonly placed in the diviſion of Upper Ethiopia. Leo Africanus ſays, that Gaoga is divided from Gorham by the Barelabaid river, which falls into the Nile, or by the Niger; yet it muſt be acknowleged, that its boundaries are by no means preciſe, as the Niger has never been traced beyond that chain of mountains eaſt of the lake Bornou, and ſome geographers doubt the exiſtence of any ſuch river as Barelabaid. This province is reckoned one hundred and eighty leagues in length from north to ſouth, and about one hundred and ſixty from eaſt to weſt, where broadeſt, extending from the 19th to the 29th degree of eaſt longitude, and from the 12th to the 22d and beyond of north latitude. The chief and only city in the whole kingdom is Gaoga, ſtanding on the north ſide of a lake of the ſame name, in latitude 15 degrees 40 minutes, and longitude 25 degrees

30 minutes eaſt, which is all we know of either. Some writers, however, mention a city called Kuka, and include it within the limits of this province, though it belongs in fact to the province of Kovar, lying north of it, near the frontiers of Egypt; of which we know nothing, as no travellers have ever penetrated that country ſo far as to make any conſiderable diſcoveries. The kingdom of Gaoga is moſtly mountainous, the natives rude and illiterate, without cloaths, without arts, and every thing but the ſhape that diſtinguiſhes humanity. They dwell in poor ſlight hovels, of materials ſo combuſtible, that they are frequently ſet on fire, the flames communicating from hut to hut, till the whole face of the country is in ruins [y].

Once, we are told, they were a free people, but enſlaved by a Negro, who having murdered his maſter, a rich merchant, ſecured his effects, returned to his own country, and there by force of money aſſembling a large body of horſe, he began with making inroads into the province of Gaoga. In time his troops became more expert and numerous, and he at laſt was ſo powerful as to reduce the whole country, the inhabitants having neither arms, courage, nor numbers, to reſiſt him. To this uſurper his ſon ſucceeded, who, after a reign of forty years, left the crown to his brother Moſes, whoſe grandſon reigned at the period when Africanus wrote his hiſtory; viz. when the Moors were driven out of Granada by Ferdinand and Iſabella of Spain, or ſoon after [z].

Of the general manners of the inhabitants of the Lower Ethiopia.

Having now deſcribed minutely the different kingdoms and provinces of this vaſt, extenſive, barren, and ſultry deſert of Sarah, we ſhall offer a few obſervations on the general manners of the inhabitants, before we proceed to a recital of the Niger and Senegal, which we think neceſſary, for the reader's better information of the courſe of theſe rivers. The firſt is ſomewhat remarkable, that though the rivers Senegal and Niger only divide this deſert from Nigritia, and though the wandering and paſtoral lives of the inhabitants expoſe them ſo much to the vertical rays of the ſun, under a climate, perhaps, hotter than the former, yet they are of a complexion bordering more upon white than the Negroes, being in general no more than tawny in their colour, while the others are of a jet black. Few or none of them approach either in complexion or features to the Negroes, who would ſeem

[y] Leo Afric. p. 526. [z] La Croix, ibid.

to

to be a people totally diſtinct from theſe, and perhaps the aborigines or primitive inhabitants of Africa, confined by incurſions of foreign nations, to this tract of land called by their name Negroland or Nigritia. Nor do the inhabitants of Sarah differ leſs from thoſe of the ſouthern countries in their manners, cuſtoms, and religious rites, than in their external appearance. The former are all profeſſors of the religion of Mohammed, a few only excepted, who retain the old Perſic rite of paying their worſhip to fire. Hence it is probable, that thoſe various tribes of Arabs, Barabars, &c. are deſcended from thoſe Saracens and Arabians, who, breaking out of Aſia, overran the greater part of northern Africa in the ſeventh century, as we have particularly mentioned in our hiſtory of thoſe nations. Hence we may account for that inbred and inveterate hatred that ſtill reigns between them and the native Africans, thoſe inhuman hoſtilities they are ever committing upon each other, of which we have given repeated inſtances. In ſome provinces thoſe Arabs, though much addicted to robbery and plundering, are induſtrious, temperate, and abſtemious, patient under thirſt, hunger, fatigue, and other hardſhips, to which they are daily expoſed by the manner of their living, their occupations, the climate, and above all their long journeys through barren deſerts in purſuit of wealth. Among ſome of them, we are told, there are ſuch relics of Chriſtianity, as afford ſtrong preſumptions that this religion has once been more general among them, if not the univerſally received doctrine. Bornou and Gaoga, in particular, are ſaid to furniſh more authentic veſtiges of Chriſtianity than any other provinces; probably on account of their vicinity to Abyſſinia, and the commerce they continually carry on with this empire [a].

Of the kingdoms north of the Niger.

But it is now time we ſhould give a ſhort view of the countries north of the Niger. Already the reader has all the particulars we have been able to collect concerning the kingdoms of Mandingo, Fuli, Jaloff, or Oualoff, and Kaſſon, and has frequently ſeen the kingdom of Tombuto mentioned, but without any deſcription of it: with this therefore we ſhall begin. Tombuto is a kingdom of vaſt extent, ſituated on both ſides the Niger, part of it being that territory which we have ſuppoſed, contrary to almoſt all geographers, ſeparating the rivers Niger and Senegal, or rather thoſe two great lakes into the eaſtward

[a] La Croix, Baudrand, Leo Afric. Marmol, ubi ſupra.

of

of which the Niger enters, and from the westward the Senegal flows. In the following manner we find it laid down by the best geographers: it has Ghenoa or Ghehenoa and Gualata on the west, Zuenziga and Guber on the north, Bita and Dauma on the east: however, as all these countries are but little known to Europeans, and hardly penetrated since the time of Marmol and Leo Africanus, it cannot be expected we should be answerable for the accuracy of their descriptions: all we pretend is to follow the most approved, after comparing all.

Of the great kingdom of Tombuto.

The name Tombuto is probably of modern date, and Leo alleges, that it was so called from the name of a town, whose situation is now unknown, built by king Mense Suliman, in the year 610 of the Hejra[b]. We are told, in general terms, that this town stood within twelve miles of a branch of the Niger; and if the present town of Tombuto be the same, it lies in the latitude of fourteen degrees thirty-two minutes, and longitude of two degrees twenty-five minutes east from London, about fifty-five leagues to the north of the lake Mabeira. In this town and the surrounding country, the houses are built of a bell form, and composed of hurdles, plaistered with a hard loam, covered with rushes; but there is one stately mosque, the walls of which are composed of stone and lime. The royal palace is also built with the same materials, of a finer design, and upon a model sketched out and executed by an excellent artist of Granada, driven hither when the Moors were expelled that country. Besides these two buildings, there are some others of good workmanship; but, in general, the houses are such as we have mentioned, a kind of conical hamlets.

Tombuto is filled with weavers of cotton; and mechanics are here more assiduously cultivated than in any part of this division of Africa; and hither likewise the European cloths are brought from Barbary, and often from the coast of Guinea. Of these markets are held, and public fairs, to which all the women resort with their faces covered, except servant maids, who dress food. The inhabitants of Tombuto, and especially strangers residing in the city, are so rich, that the king thinks it not unworthy of the royal blood to be connected with them in marriage.

Tombuto well watered.

No kingdom in Guinea is better watered with wells, natural springs, and canals drawn from the Niger, than

[b] Leo, p. 249.

Tombuto.

Tombuto. These make it fertile in all kind of grain, grass, cattle, milk, butter, and every conveniency of life besides salt, which they have by land carriage from Teguza, distant about five hundred miles, and so highly valued, that Leo saw a camel load of this commodity sold for eighty ducats [c].

The rich king of Tombuto has in his possession a prodigious quantity of gold plate, scepters, and other badges of royalty, some of which weigh thirteen hundred ounces of pure gold; and the whole court eat out of golden vessels, silver or any other metal being hardly ever used. In travelling he rides upon a camel, richly caparisoned, all the furniture shining with burnished gold, and one of his great officers leading his horse after him. In war also he rides upon a camel, but all his soldiers are mounted upon horses. In addressing him, the most profound respect is paid: all persons approaching the throne must prostrate themselves upon the ground, take up the dust, and sprinkle it over their head and shoulders; a ceremony particularly observed by those who never had this honour before, and by foreign ambassadors. His general retinue and guards consist of three thousand horsemen, well armed with poisoned arrows and darts, besides a number of foot, who wear shields and swords. He often levies in person the tribute from those princes who do him homage, and frequent skirmishes pass between the guards aud those stubborn vassals, who unwillingly give this testimony of their servitude. As the country does not breed good horses, the cavalry are usually mounted upon barbs and Arabian horses, which the king purchases at a great expence; however the court and merchants commonly ride upon little horses, the breed of the country, hardy, and in every respect, but beauty, equal to the former. When the king is informed of a merchant's arrival in town with a drove of horses, he immediately orders a certain number of the finest to be brought to him, for which he pays a great price, never scrupling any expence to have his troops handsomely mounted [d].

King despotic.

The enmity of this monarch to the Jews is so great, that he has strictly prohibited them the city, and laid a heavy penalty on all the Barbary merchants who trade with them. From whence this fixed hatred proceeds authors have not told us; though, considering the esteem in which mer-

Jews expelled the kingdom.

c Leo Afriq. ibid. Marmol. livr. i. chap. 15. d La Croix, tom. ii. p. 357, & seq.

chants

chants are held, it is probable, that his averſion aroſe from thoſe frauds and ſiniſter practices in commerce, for which this deſpiſed unhappy people have been noted in all ages and countries. His taſte for ſcience and literature appears from the great numbers of doctors, judges, and prieſts, whom he liberally maintains in the capital, at a great expence, furniſhing them with all the eaſe and conveniencies of ſtudy they can deſire; and hence it is, that the human underſtanding has made a conſiderable progreſs in this country, conſidering the unenlightened condition of all the ſurrounding nations, and the little aſſiſtance they have received from the more refined Europeans. Manuſcripts from Barbary are brought hither, and ſold as the moſt valuable merchandize; and, indeed, there are traders who have amaſſed immenſe riches by confining themſelves wholly to this literary traffick, which the monarch encourages with the ſpirit, the taſte, and the generoſity of a prince. However, after all, it muſt be owned, that learning has been of ſo late date, that hitherto its influence is only perceivable about the court, and has not yet extended itſelf viſibly over the general manners of the people, of whom it can at moſt be ſaid, that they are mild and gentle in their diſpoſition, frugal in their œconomy, induſtrious in their occupations, and chearful in the hours of relaxation, which they devote to ſinging, dancing, and feſtivity [e].

The king an encourager of learned men.

Money uſed at Tombuto.

The currency uſed in commerce at Tombuto conſiſts of gold bars, and certain ſhells they are ſuppoſed to have from Perſia, though by what route we know not. Theſe they uſe in leſſer bargains; and in all caſes where a ſmaller ſtandard or medium of value is requiſite, four hundred of them being worth a ducat, and ſix bars of their gold, with about two thirds of a bar, equivalent to an ounce. What ſurpriſes a ſpeculative mind, is the facility with which all barbarous commercial nations, who underſtand not arithmetic as a ſcience, combine their ideas of numbers, and perform the moſt difficult operations and abſtruſe calculations, in ſtating ſhares, proportions, and other circumſtances of trade, by the aſſiſtance of their memory alone.

The Tombutans expert arithmeticians.

The Tombuton gentry maintain a great number of ſlaves, which is the higheſt rank of pomp and pageantry among them. Their careleſſneſs is frequently the cauſe of the moſt dreadful calamities, the whole town being

[e] Auct. citat. ibid.

often

often in flames by accidents, occasioned by their means; for the houses, built of so combustible materials as wattlings, catch fire upon the most trivial accident, and the very sparks from their pipes of tobacco. When Leo Africanus went the second time to Tombuto, half the town was burnt to ashes in the space of five hours. Without the suburbs, the same author remarks, the Tombutons have neither gardens, orchards, or hardly any kind of police, so that the markets are supplied from places more remote; but he does not acquaint us with the reasons for so extraordinary a conduct.

Dreadful fires at Tombuto.

About twelve miles from Tombuto, to the south, stands Cabra, a large town, built in the same manner as the former, without walls, and situated on the banks of the Niger, which serves it for a defence on one side. From hence the merchants trading to the little kingdom of Ghenoa, and powerful monarchy of Melli, go by water to the lake Timby, then crossing over the isthmus, that separates this from the lake Mabeira, they again take water to the country of the Foulis, and traverse that by land-carriage to Melli. The people are here inferior in the refinement of their manners, but not in the innate qualities of their minds, to the inhabitants of the capital. Here is a judge appointed by the king to decide all controversies; and such is the justice of his verdict, that there never has been an instance of an appeal to the throne; which indeed might prove fatal to the magistrate, as bribery and corruption in public proceedings are reputed crimes of the blackest complexion. The inhabitants of Cabra, however, labour under some severe physical calamities; among these may be reckoned, as the worst, the variety of diseases to which they are liable, proceeding, as it is imagined, from the heterogeneous qualities of their food, usually composed of a farrago of milk, fish, flesh, butter, oil, and wine [f].

The trade carried on here.

To the above relation of Leo Africanus and Marmol, we shall add what farther information M. De Brue had from the Mandingan merchants. From these he learnt that the town of Tombuto, or as he calls it Tombucto, does not stand upon the Niger, but within land; that in going thither they followed the southern bank of the river, for several days journey; and that having left it, they continued their journey for five days more. We leave it to the reader to reconcile a topography so differ-

[f] La Croix, p. 358. & seq. Leo Afric. & Marmol, ibid.

ent

ent from that of Leo, who describes Baera upon the river, and but twelve miles distant from Tombuto. The following is the route they take; from Kaynu, about seven miles below the cataract of Felu, the last village when the river is navigable to Jagu, are five days journey; from Jagu to Baiagne, one; from thence to Congomon, one; thence to Saaba, one; from this place to Boramaja, two; thence to Goury, two; from this stage to Galama, one; and thence to Timby, or the great lake of that name, and then across a mountainous country. Here they left the river, and pursuing their march east-south-east (D), they arrived in five days at Tombuto: a journey which we thought might assist the reader in comprehending more distinctly the geography of the country, and the course of the rivers. Thus we see, that the thirty-two days journey being reckoned at ten leagues each day, will make the distance between the cataract of Felu and the capital of Tombuto, about three hundred and twenty leagues. They added, that there came every year to Tombuto a large caravan of white men, who exchanged a vast quantity of the merchandize of the nations bordering on the Mediterranean, as well as those purchased of the Europeans, for the produce of Tombuto, and particularly gold, found in prodigious quantities in this kingdom. These were in all probability the Moors from Barbary, who might well be esteemed white men, when compared with the jet-black inhabitants of Tombuto. From this relation we see the falsity of that opinion, which supposes that a regular trade is carried on from the Mediterranean, by the nations of Barbary and Sarah, into Nigritia, and even to the Gold, Slave, and Ivory Coasts. For it is obvious from hence, that only one caravan crosses the Niger, and even that comes no farther than Tombuto, the most northern nation of all Negroland [g].

Caravans go from Tripoli to Tombuto.

When M. De Brue was in Tripoli, he frequently saw caravans set out from thence, to a country lying southward, which they gave out to be Faisan, though it is highly

g Labat, tom. ii. p. 72.

(D) So we find it in Labat, though we must either attribute the word *south* to an error of the press, or to the Mandingan merchants mistaking the points of the compass. Their course must have been north-east; for in going south, they must have crossed the river, and entered the deserts of Sarah.

highly probable their deſtination was rather to Tombuto; and our reaſon for this conjecture is, that they ſpent fifty days in the journey, which could not be to Faiſan, diſtant only one hundred and eighty leagues from Tripoli. Another reaſon is, the aſſertion of the Mandingo merchants who have been at Tombuto, and allege, that, beſides the gold that country affords, there is often a great quantity brought from the country of Zanfara; and that the merchants who bring it from thence employ fifty days in their journey thither: but there is no ſuch time required in travelling from Zanfara to Faiſan, the diſtance not exceeding two hundred leagues. From hence we have all the probability, that the caravans of Tripoli go to Tombuto; and theſe towns being four hundred and fifty leagues aſunder, the journey may be eaſily ſuppoſed to employ fifty days. Theſe caravans conſiſt generally of about a thouſand men, mounted on horſes and camels, all of them well armed and accoutered, ſo that they have nothing to fear from the attack of robbers or wild beaſts. Beſides the fifty days allowed for travel, there are ſeveral more conſumed in refreſhing themſelves and cattle, exhauſted with the fatigue of ſo long a journey; and theſe halts are made in the moſt fertile and pleaſant vallies they meet with, during their ſtay in which they they ſolace themſelves with every ſort of mirth, dancing, ſinging, and a variety of games. The merchandize they carry is in general the ſame as the Europeans ſend to Galam and the inferior kingdoms, conſiſting of black, green, yellow, white, or red ſerges or cloths, but more of red than of any other colour, the whole amounting in value to twenty thouſand crowns; to the ſame amount they ſend glaſs beads and toys, imported to Tripoli from Venice and other European ports; coral work is exported by the caravans to the amount of twelve thouſand crowns; paper, copper baſons, and other ſuch goods, to the value of ten thouſand crowns: ſo that the whole ſtock in trade of a caravan is worth, at prime coſt to the Tripolitans, about ſixty thouſand crowns; from whence we may deduce the total of their profit on the ſtock they procure in exchange at Tombuto, which conſiſt of three thouſand quintals of dates, ſold at Tripoli for two crowns a quintal; twelve hundred quintals of ſena, worth on their return about fifteen crowns per quintal; oſtrich feathers to the amount of fifteen thouſand crowns; eight hundred or a thouſand ſlaves, worth fifty crowns a head; and laſtly a thouſand marks of gold, which article alone amounts to a hundred thouſand

The articles of trade carried by this caravan.

thousand crowns. In a word, these articles amount together at Tripoli to a hundred and seventy-nine thousand crowns; which, after deducting the prime cost of their goods sold in exchange, leaves a profit of one hundred and seventeen thousand crowns; from which we must deduct the expences of the journey, computed at ten thousand crowns. Such is the prodigious profit arising, according to father Labat, upon this trade, which he thinks might be immediately carried on at a much less expence by the Europeans, by means of the Senegal; several attempts towards which were made by the enterprising sieur De Brue, but all of them unsuccessful; nor does it indeed appear practicable to any besides the natives, who alone can endure the hardships and fatigues necessarily met with in such a journey or voyage [h].

Kingdom of Bita. Next to Tombuto, eastward, stands the kingdom of Bita, having Guber and Zanfara on the north, from which it is separated by the Niger, Dauma on the south, and Temian on the east. The capital city has, according to Dapper, the same name, and stands in the latitude of nine degrees ten minutes north; which position must certainly be an error, as in this case it must be situated in Guinea. The truth is, we are wholly unacquainted with its true situation, or whether in fact any such town exists, though we find it mentioned by Africanus and Marmol. De Lisle says, in general terms, that the inhabitants of this kingdom are rich; a fact which he must have asserted upon conjecture, as there are no authentic accounts of it ever published [i].

Temian province. Still farther east than Bita stands the province of Temian, bounded on the north by the Niger and province of Cano; on the east-south-east, by Bornou and Medra, and by Biafara, on the south (E). The inhabitants are said to be anthropophagi, their teeth, says Dapper, resembling those of dogs; in short, authors describe them in every respect similar to a nation we before mentioned inhabiting the Ivory Coast, or lying between that and the Malaguet Coast.

[h] Labat, Marmol, La Croix, Sanut, & Leo Afric. ibid. [i] Leo. p. 4.

(E) This Biafara is different from a small kingdom of that name, extending along the sea coast south-south-east of the river Gambia, of which we have spoken in our account of the islands of Bissao, Bissago, and Bulam.

Medra

Medra or Madra province, has for its frontiers on the weſt Biafara and Temian, Bornou on the north, and on the ſouth the mountains that ſeparate it from Benin and Majac. *Medra province.*

Next to this ſtands Dauma or Dahomay, having Gaoga and Tombuto on the weſt, Bita on the north, Biafara on the eaſt, and the mountains of Guinea on the ſouth. Of this people we have ſpoken ſufficiently, towards the concluſion of the maritime kingdoms of Whidah and Ardrah, conquered by this warlike monarch. *Dauma.*

Then we proceed to Goram or Gorham, with Medra on the weſt, Gaoga on the north, Abyſſinia on the eaſt, and a ridge of high mountains on the ſouth. *Goram.*

Laſtly, the kingdom of Biafara, the moſt populous and potent of any ſtate in Nigritia, except Benin, Tombuto, Mandingo, and Oualoff, has Dauma and part of Gaoga on the weſt, Bita and Temian on the north, Medra on the eaſt, and on the ſouth the deſert of Seth, with a ridge of mountains that part it from the kingdom of Benin. So little acquainted are the moderns with this interior continent of Africa, that we have been able to do little more than lay down the geography, by comparing modern charts and maps, with the deſcription of Leo Africanus and Marmol. Directly ſouth of Biafara ſtands the deſert of Seth, with Benin on the ſouth, ſeparating it from the ſouthern ocean, Medra on the eaſt, and Gaoga on the weſt; cloſe to which are the deſerts of Sen, which, though diſtinguiſhed by ſeparate names, form one barren ſandy expanſe of territory. We may indeed ſay, that the whole country ſouth of the Niger, with Tombuto on the weſt, and Ethiopia or Abyſſinia on the eaſt, is one vaſt deſert, now and then parted by a petty kingdom, equally contemptible for its poverty and ſmall extent [1]. *Kingdom of Biafara.*

Having now run over that multiplicity of nations that inhabit the lands on both ſides the Niger, we ſhall, previous to our deſcription of Biledulgerid, trace the courſe of the rivers Senegal and Niger, that the reader may ſee Labat's reaſons, as well as thoſe of Africanus and Marmol, for calling them one and the ſame river, or the former no more than a continuation of the latter.

That the Niger, Nigir, Nigris, or Nigiris, is the ſame river with that we now ſtyle the Senegal or Zanaga, is now, ſays father Labat, agreed on by all hands: but that it is only a branch of the Nile, ſpringing from that *Of the origin and courſe of the Niger.*

[1] Baudrand, ſub voc. La Croix, ibid.

ſource, and taking a different courſe from it, as Ludolph and others imagine, is ſtill much diſputed. It is impoſſible to conceive how the Nile ſhould by any means be connected with the Niger, as their courſes are altogether different, and ſeparated by that prodigious ridge of mountains that ſeparate Abyſſinia from the kingdoms of Bornou and Gaoga, without we have recourſe to Labat's argument for the junction of the Niger and Senegal, that it runs by a ſubterraneous paſſage under theſe mountains; a fact that may be aſſerted, but ſcarcely credited. As to the Niger, the Europeans have been able to trace it only part of its courſe, beyond which they know nothing more than what they learn from the Mandingo merchants, who, of all the Negroes, are the moſt addicted to traffick and travelling. However, it is apparent, that they are neither expert in their obſervations, nor have they gone far enough to judge whether the Senegal and Niger be one river, ſince they acknowlege never to have been higher towards the ſource of either than the lake Mabeira, which is little more than half way to the Nile, ſuppoſing them to be derived from that ſource.

Other writers, following Labat, have ſtretched the courſe of the Niger back eaſtward, quite to the lake Bornou, in the 18th degree of north latitude, and 19th of eaſt longitude. Some other geographers, unſupported by all authority, have placed its ſource in another lake, near a hundred leagues to the north-eaſt of Bornou. This they call the Niger lake, and affirm, that the river derives its name from it, and takes a ſouth-weſt courſe, till it falls into the lake Bornou, after which it continues its courſe to the lake Mabeira, and ſo to the Atlantic ocean. Should we expect ſolid proofs, founded on the obſervations of perſons of credit and experience, in ſupport of theſe conjectures, we ſhould find ourſelves diſappointed. The Nubian geographer and Ludolphus aſſert, that it was actually a continuation of the Nile; a conjecture they believed in ſome meaſure ſupported by its etymon. Pliny ſeems to have led the way to this notion, by his inference collected from the analogy between their water in taſte and colour, and the flags, reeds, fiſh, and other animals common to them both; and yet perhaps he too has borrowed this falſe reaſoning from ſome older philoſopher than himſelf. How the Romans came to have any idea of the ſource of this river, when the country was wholly unknown, is what we will not pretend to decide. Their account of it was the following. There are two rivers in Africa,

Africa, which both have the name Nile, and ſpring from the ſame fountain, in the 16th deg. of north latitude, in the country of Ethiopia. This ſource lies at the foot of the Mountain of the Moon, where there ſprings ten fountains, which form two lakes. Out of each of theſe lakes flow three rivers, which joining their ſtreams dilate into a third large lake, that forms the Niger and Nile, and affords them a perpetual fund of water. The firſt of theſe rivers is ſtyled Nile Meſr, or river of Egypt, and the other Nile Sandan, or river of the Negroes, which laſt runs weſtward, and diſcharges itſelf in the dark or gloomy ſea, that is, in the Atlantic ocean, for ſo the Arabs call it. The word Nile was probably derived from the Hebrew, Nehel or Nahal, as we have already obſerved, ſignifying *a river*, a term emphatically applied to this river by way of pre-eminence. In other parts of the ſacred writings, it is called Sihor or Sichor, which ſignifies *black*, *muddy*, or *troubled*, and anſwers in ſome meaſure, as our author thinks, to the name Niger or Nigris, as well as the muddy nature of both rivers. Hence, they imagine they might both have been called Sihor or Nichel Sihor, the Black River, though the Niger alone has preſerved that name, from its running through the country of the Blacks. This ſeems farther confirmed, Leo believes, by what the Egyptian ſcribe told Herodotus, that there were two mountains with peaked tops, called Crophi and Mophi, ſituated between the cities of Syene in Thebais and Elephantina; and that from the middle of the valley between theſe mountains ſprung up the inexhauſtible ſource and head of the Nile, one part of whoſe ſtream ran northward to Egypt, and the other ſouthward towards Ethiopia.

All the above vague reaſoning has been refuted judiciouſly by father Labat, who has himſelf adopted other notions equally ideal, and unſupported by authentic vouchers. The rivers Niger and Senegal he affirms to be the ſame, though he has brought no arguments in proof of this aſſertion, which we think highly improbable, for the reaſons already mentioned.

Biledulgerid deſcribed.

Biledulgerid, or the ancient Numidia, we have ſeen deſcribed in our ancient hiſtory; but as the moderns all agree that its limits have been greatly contracted, we ſhall endeavour to aſcertain its boundaries. There was an univerſal confuſion in all the maps and writings on this ſubject, before the geography of M. De Liſle appeared,

ed, who first began to reduce it to its natural boundaries, by divesting it of a number of provinces, which he with great accuracy, and upon better authority, places under other divisions. It was before a huge chaos of kingdoms jumbled together, without order, connection, or the smallest ray of reason; now it is reduced to modern limits, and made to fill up that space that separates the deserts on the north of Sarah from Barbary.

According to the older geographers, Biledulgerid, or the Land of Dates, was one of the general provinces into which the whole continent of Africa was divided; and Biledulgerid Proper appears, in fact, to be only a small part of what was comprehended under that general name, to which they added no less than seven provinces, a variety of towns and cities, upon no better foundation than the vast extent they have given it, especially from east to west, that is, from the frontiers of Egypt quite to the Atlantic ocean; or, according to their calculation, two thousand five hundred miles. Nor were its boundaries on the north and south, though much more moderate, less wild and erroneous; for they made Mount Atlas the frontier between Biledulgerid and Barbary, on the north; and the deserts of Libya and Sarah its southern limits. This the reader may see from the maps and descriptions of Leo, Marmol, Sanson, Tillemont, and Baudrand, who seem to have copied each other's errors implicitly; and they again to be followed with the same blind ignorance, faith, and indolence, by most late geographers, particularly Moll and Salmon. A little attention to the above authors would have shewn them such a contrariety of sentiments, not so much with each other as with themselves, as would sufficiently destroy the weight of their authority, and convince a judicious reader, that he must either think for himself, or ever remain in obscurity and error, with respect to the situation of this large district

Leo Africanus, who is much more distinct than Marmol or his translators, has plainly contracted the dimensions of Biledulgerid on the east and west sides, throwing off a number of provinces, which Baudrand upon his pretended authority joins to it. A circumstance of which we thought it necessary to apprize the reader, in apology for our differing so greatly with late geographers in considerable repute, if we may be allowed to judge from the number of editions of their works which have passed.

According

According to Moll and ſome other late geographers, Biledulgerid comprehends the following eight large tracts or provinces, viz. Barca, to be deſcribed elſewhere, Biledulgerid Proper, Segelmeſſa, Tafilet, Tigorarin, Zeb, Darka, and Teſſel, beſides a number of inferior ones, which they mention under the names of Oguela, Faſſan, and Gudamis, &c [k]. De Liſle, however, more juſtly confines it to the province properly called Biledulgerid, or that ſpace of land lying ſouth of Tunis, and, ſtrictly ſpeaking, only a part of it, ſeparated by a ridge of mountains only, while the form of government is nearly the ſame. This province is almoſt of a ſquare form, and extends more than eighty leagues every way, or from 28 deg. 30 min. to 32 deg. 50 min. north latitude; and from 5 deg. 30 min. to 11 deg. 50 min. eaſt longitude. It is bounded on the eaſt by a ridge of lofty mountains, which divide it from the kingdom of Tripoli and part of Gudamis, on the weſt by the countries of Zeb and Mezeb, on the ſouth by the province of Verghela; and this is all that can with propriety be comprehended within the ſtrict limits of Biledulgerid, though it be uſual to include all thoſe provinces which we have called its frontiers [l].

Error of modern geographers, rectified by M. De Liſle.

The whole country of Biledulgerid is ſandy, barren, and mountainous, producing little or no ſuſtenance but dates, which grow here in ſuch profuſion, that the face of half the province is covered over with trees bearing this fruit. The climate is hot and unhealthy; the people are lean, ſwarthy, and ſhrivelled in their complexions, with their eyes inflamed, by the reflection of the ſun beams from the white hard ſoil and the ſhowers of duſt and ſand driven by the high winds, that blow here at certain ſeaſons, ſo violently as frequently to bury men and cattle under heaps of ſand. Another inconvenience with which they are afflicted, for which no reaſon has been given, beſides the eating of dates, is an inveterate ſcurvy generally in the gums, whence all their teeth drop out, though it frequently ſpreads over their whole bodies, by which they become the moſt unhappy, pitiable, and loathſome of all objects. In other reſpects the natives are vigorous, healthy, and ſound, living to a good old age, without ſickneſs or diſeaſe; though it is obſervable, that they diſcover a furrowed countenance, ſhrivelled ſkin, hoary locks, and other concomitants of old age, very early in

Deſcription of the great province of Biledulgerid.

[k] Moll, Geog. Afric. Chart.

[l] De Liſle Geograph. vide Afric.

life, and before infirmity, decrepitude, or any decay of their faculties begin to appear. The plague, that peſt of Barbary, is not known, and ſcarce ever heard of in Biledulgerid, notwithſtanding the contiguity of the countries, and the conſtant intercourſe of the inhabitants at all ſeaſons; whence one would be induced to believe that this terrible diſeaſe is leſs infectious than it has uſually been reported. The ſame remark may be made of the ſmall-pox, a diſeaſe no leſs contagious and fatal in hot countries than the plague itſelf.

As to the character of the natives of Biledulgerid, they are repreſented as a lewd, treacherous, thieviſh, and ſavage people, that delight in murder, blood, and rapine. They are moſtly, as we before mentioned, a mixture of old Africans and wild Arabs, who mingled themſelves with them; the former living with more regularity and civil order in a kind of villages compoſed of a number of little huts; the latter in tents, ranging from place to place in queſt of food and plunder. In the whole country, beſides Teuzar and Touſera, on the frontiers of Tunis and Caſſa, there is not a town worth mentioning; and thoſe are placed by ſome geographers within the limits of Tunis. It is no leſs deſtitute of rivers, there being ſcarce a ſingle ſtream in all this large territory that merits notice, or that is not dried up half the year [m].

The Arabs, who pride themſelves upon their ſuperiority of birth and talents over the primitive inhabitants, are wholly independent and free, frequently hiring themſelves in the ſervice of neighbouring princes at war, from which policy ariſe their moſt valuable branches of the public revenue, if any thing can be called common or public, in a nation of lawleſs rovers; the reſt purſue no other occupations beſides hunting and plundering, the firſt of which is one of their nobleſt diverſions, eſpecially the hunting of oſtriches, which in this country are ſaid to be of a prodigious ſtature, and as high as a man mounted upon a tall horſe. Theſe animals are hunted, killed, and dreſſed for food by the Arabians in their own proper country. They eat their fleſh, barter their feathers for corn, pulſe, and other things they want, uſe their hearts in their necromantic and religious rites, their fat or oil as a medicine of prime virtues, their talons for ear-pendants and other ornaments, and their ſkins they convert

[m] Leo Afric, p. 242.

into

into pouches and knapsacks, so that not a part of the animal is left unemployed in some useful purpose. Besides dates and ostriches, the Arabs live likewise upon the flesh of goats and camels, drinking either the liquor or broth in which that flesh ir boiled, or the milk of their camels; for they seldom taste water, that element being more rare than milk itself, at least what is fit to be used, it being in general brackish and unwholesome, producing a great variety of chronical diseases [n].

The Arabs have some horses which they use in the chace, upon which occasion persons of better fashion are attended by their slaves of the Negro kind, and the rest by their women, no less obsequious than the slaves themselves, looking after their horses, and performing all the most servile and laborious offices. They have likewise schools, to which all the boys of distinction are sent, to be instructed in that kind of knowlege fashionable in the country, and raised from thence to the high dignities of cadis and marbuts, judges or priests, in proportion to their genius, and the proficiency they have made in their studies. It is true, indeed, that learning is here at the lowest ebb, consisting wholly in acquiring a dexterity and slight of hand, by which they may be enabled to juggle and cheat the people by holy artifice, the marbuts being more properly conjurers, than the teachers and professors of morality, or any kind of religion. Some indeed addict themselves to poetry, for which all the natives of this country shew a very early propensity and genius; nor is it uncommon to see a person rise to the highest distinctions, by means of this talent, which they sometimes carry to an amazing pitch of sublimity and sweetness, considering the rude ignorance of the people in general. Their invention is surprisingly fertile; nor can any thing exceed their talent in weaving in the keenest satires the most affecting elogies, and the warmest exhortations in their fables and parables, in which kind they especially excel. There are others among them who pursue the mechanic arts; but in general the people despise them as mean, servile, and infinitely below the dignity of their birth, which is a privilege for idleness and poverty: where any of them think it worth while to cultivate the earth, this employment they leave to their wives and slaves [o].

Of the priests and marbuts.

[n] Marmol, p. 28, 29, 30. tom. i. ibid.

[o] Vide Auct. citat.

The Arabs have so dispersed and spread themselves over all the countries, acquired such a superiority over the original inhabitants, and exerted it with such insolence and tyranny, that the native Africans have been forced to retire more towards Negroland, and leave them to range at liberty in this. Some of them wander from one end to the other, with their herds of cattle, without acknowleging a superior; others have their particular cheyks, or chiefs; and a third sort are either tributary or subject, some to the Turks, who possess part of Numidia, others to other states, as particularly those towards the west, to Fez and Morocco. They are professors of the doctrine of Mohammed; but equally negligent in acquiring a competent knowlege of its tenets, and in practising the little they do know. Indeed their religion, if it deserves that name, seems to be a mixture of the Pagan, Jewish, and Mohammedan, of which they neither have, nor are desirous of having, any distinct ideas, which might only be clogging their conduct with what they esteem an unnecessary restraint [p].

Of the city of Teujura.

As to the city of Teusera, which we have placed, with De Lisle, within the limits of Biledulgerid, we have the following account by Marmol. It was built, he says, by the Romans, upon the banks of a fine river, that flows down from some of the mountains on the south, and was fortified with high walls, the ruins of which are still to be seen: however, it would appear to be beyond the true limits of Biledulgerid Proper, which De Lisle describes without one single river. It contained, according to Marmol, five thousand families; but appears, from its remains, to have been much more populous. The Mohammedans, when they entered this country, plundered and destroyed the city, on account of the obstinate resistance made to their conquests by all the inhabitants of this large province. Thus all its noble structures were demolished, and have lain ever since in ruins, the present buildings consisting of low and mean huts, in the fashion of the country, though the people are said to be wealthy in money and dates. Here they hold fairs at certain seasons, to which the merchants of all the surrounding countries resort, and bring a prodigious afflux of wealth into the place. Through the center of this town runs the river, by which the Arabs and Africans are separated, each of them possessing a certain quarter, the one to the

[p] La Croix Relat. Universe. de l'Afrique, tom. ii. liv. 3.

south,

ſouth, the other to the north, and enjoying different immunities and privileges, though all are inhabitants of the ſame city. Nay, they are at continual war with each other, and incurſions are made from one diviſion into the other, with all the rancour and animoſity that can inflame the breaſts of ſavages, ſo widely different in manners and cuſtoms. Both indeed frequently refuſe to acknowlege the Tuneſe government, and unite to repel all endeavours uſed to reduce them to ſubmiſſion; agreeing in this alone, to preſerve their freedom, and not bend the neck to foreigners, while they are uſing every poſſible meaſure to ruin and enſlave each other. In a word, the general character of the Arabs is, to ſuffer all kinds of danger and hardſhips rather than yield to the yoke of a government. To conclude, this city ſtands upon the confines of Tunis, in the latitude of 32 deg. 28 min. north, and longitude of 10 deg. 26 min. eaſt; and, though by many geographers placed within the kingdom of Tunis, is in fact a part of Biledulgerid.

The city of Capſa deſcribed.

Capſa is another famed Roman city, formerly encircled by ſtrong walls, towers, and baſtions; but taken and demoliſhed by Occuba, a famous Arab general. This city is likewiſe placed erroneouſly by a number of geographers within the boundaries of Tunis. The walls of the citadel are ſtill remaining, as monuments of the ancient glory and ſtrength of Capſa, twenty-four fathoms in height and five thick, built of large ſquare ſtones, which have now acquired the ſolidity and firmneſs of a rock. The walls of the town were rebuilt by the inhabitants, ſince their firſt demolition, but were afterwards deſtroyed by Jacob Almanzor, who ſent a governor and troops into the province. In Marmol's time Capſa was very populous, abounding with ſtately moſques and other ſtructures, of ſuperb and regular workmanſhip: but at preſent it is occupied by a poor indigent people, fleeced and oppreſſed by the Tuneſe government. In the very center of the city ſtands an incloſed fountain, which ſupplies the town at the ſame time with water, and a bath of a fine cool element. The adjacent country abounds with citrons, palms, olives, and other fruits; but the climate and inhabitants are unhealthy. Both men and women dreſs handſomely, except their feet, which they cover with coarſe ſhoes of bungling workmanſhip, and made of the rough ſkins of wild beaſts, equally inconvenient and unbecoming. As to the ſituation of Capſa, authors are diſagreed; but the moſt probable is, that it ſtands in the

latitude

latitude of 33 deg. 15 min. north, and in the east longitude of 9 deg. 3 min. thirty leagus from Teufera [q].

Of the division of Biledulgerid.

That nothing may be wanting to give the reader ample satisfaction concerning a country so imperfectly known, we will not confine him entirely to our own ideas of it, but gratify him with a description of all the provinces included within the general name of Biledulgerid by other writers. First stands the province of Suz, or Souz, bounded on the east by the ocean; on the south, by Libya or the deserts of Sarah; on the east, by the province of Dara; and on the north, by the province of Suz in Barbary, says La Croix, as if there were two contiguous provinces of this name.

Next, eastward, is situated the province of Dara, which, according to La Croix and other moderns, composes a great part of Biledulgerid. It takes its name from a large river, that discharges itself into the Mediterranean sea, and encloses a great part of that country called Mauritania Cæsariensis. On the north it is separated from Morocco by the Greater Atlas, on the west it hath the provinces of Suz and Gezala, on the east Segelmessa, and on the south the deserts of Sarah or Lybia; being in all about a hundred leagues in length. This province contains a number of castles, forts, and strong holds, situated on the banks of the Dara. One of the chief towns is Benisabih, or Mucubah, after which the traveller falls in with Quiteoa, about two hundred paces from the river, well defended by walls, and fortified by a citadel. Next occurs the little town of Tozarin, with its citadel; and about twenty leagues from Quiteoa stands Tayamadert, famous for the birth of their cherifs. Turzela and Margala are also cities situated upon the river Dara; the former so large as to contain four thousand houses, a castle, and above four hundred Jewish families. Yinzulin, the largest town of the whole province of Dara, stands twelve leagues from Jaragala, and is a place of great extent, fortified by a strong citadel and walls. Besides a number of lesser places, La Croix makes mention of Timesguit, as one of the chief places, situated on the confines of Gezula, and containing within its walls about three thousand houses, besides two hundred families inhabiting the suburbs.

The province of Dara, like almost all the other provinces of this country, is in general barren, though some

q Marmol, & Leo Afric. ubi supra.

parts

parts of it produce grain, especially after the river has overflown its banks, and enriched the adjacent fields with its fertile mud However, the whole province does not afford sufficient nourishment for the inhabitants; whence they exchange their dates at Fez for corn and other necessaries of life. Most of the people are of a very dark complexion, few of them bordering upon white; a circumstance that is attributed to their allying themselves so frequently with the Negroes. Their women are reckoned handsome; but inclinable to be fat. Their disposition is sweet, and tinctured with less of the savage than is to be found among most females of this country. In general, the inhabitants of Dara acknowlege the sovereignty of the emperor of Morocco, though they are governed by their own cheyks.

Next stand the provinces of Taphilet and Ytata, which we shall describe under their proper heads in the sequel; though they are placed by La Croix among the provinces of Biledulgerid. *Ytata.*

The province of Segelmessa is watered by the river Zis, and extends from the streights near Gherjulein to the deserts of Sarah, north and south; and from Dara to Jessel on the west and east. Its metropolis, of the same name, is washed by the Zis. It was formerly powerful; and one sees by the vestiges of its walls that they had been high, beautiful, and strong; but on occasion of some troubles the inhabitants deserted it, and retired to the neighbouring villages. However, Gramay affirms, that it was repeopled in the year 1548; though for this we have no other authority. La Croix says, that along the banks of the Zis there are three hundred and fifty walled towns, besides a great number of villages: whence we may conclude, that this province must be exceeding populous. The same author adds, that the method of living here, and the general manners of the people, differ nothing from what we have described; that the heat produces a great number of scorpions and serpents; that in the summer the natives are always troubled with inflammations and defluxions of the eyes; that they are ignorant, credulous, and superstitious, to a degree of absurdity. *Segelmessa.*

Along the river Zis lies the province of Quaneg, or Quanana. Between Fez and Segelmessa it has several considerable fortresses, of which the chief is Zebel, situated on a high inaccessible rock, whose summit is hidden among the clouds. It is indeed an epitome of the country, than which *Quanana.*

which nothing more bare, barren, rocky, and desert can be imagined.

Metagara. South of Quanana lie the provinces of Metagara and Retel, filled with towns and villages, exhibiting marks of their being well inhabited and wealthy. The chief town of the former is called Helela, where resides a cheyk, who draws thirty thousand ducats yearly from duties imposed upon merchandize brought thither. Nor is the province of Retel less populous; but the people are covetous, and much addicted to thieving, at least such of them as serve the Arabs in quality of slaves: a vice they may possibly have learnt under such experienced masters.

Togda. The province of Togda has three cities, and a number of villages; but is less populous and wealthy than the preceding. It is divided into the four following districts, Farcella, Togda, Tezarin, and Banigami; all of them inhabited by different nations, independent on each other, and yet connected by a certain political tie in one interest, and under one head.

Tegorari. Next follows the territory of Tegorari, or Taguriri, consisting chiefly of a desert, forty miles in length; however, it is not all so, as appears by the number of its castles, which amount to fifty-three, and more than one hundred villages. Of these La Croix places the chief in 28 degrees of east longitude, and 30 of north latitude. The natives are rich, by means of their extensive commerce with the Negroes; and it is besides affirmed, that gold is found plentifully in this country; yet so barren and dry is it, that it scarce produces any grain, or indeed any other vegetables, without being watered, with great labour and expence, by water brought from a great distance. For this reason it is that they permit strangers who travel the countay to pay nothing for lodgings, thinking it a sufficient equivalent that they have the dung of their cattle, which they prize as gold, and the labour of their horses to fetch water during their stay. Victuals of all kinds are exceeding dear, not only on account of the scarcity of grain, but of grass, which makes them unable to maintain their sheep and cows, or render those they have valuable for their milk or flesh. Besides dates, the chief aliment is horse and camel's flesh, which they purchase when old and past work of the Arabians, who deal largely in superannuated cattle. With all its disadvantages, the Jews have established themselves in this country, and were equally remarkable for their numbers and riches, before they were pillaged, at the instigation of a marbut

of

of Tremecen, by the people, on the very ſame year in which they were driven out of Spain, viz. 1492. La Croix ſays, that they were not only plundered but maſſacred by the Tegorarins, very few of them eſcaping out of the kingdom.

There is another country, called Menezal, about one hundred leagues eaſt of Tegorari, and at the ſame diſtance from the Mediterranean ſea on the north, which La Croix ranks among the provinces of Biledulgerid. This territory contains ſix walled towns, a great variety of large villages; although the land is deſert and barren, the inhabitants making up the natural diſadvantages of the country, by a redoubled application to trade, which they puſh a great way into the Negro kingdoms. The miſfortune is, that, being ſubject to the Arabs, they are grievouſly oppreſſed, and compelled to pay heavy tribute to thoſe idle and inſolent uſurpers. *Menezal.*

In the next place we meet with the kingdom of Tycarte, as Grammay calls it, and Tecort, according to La Croix, and other French writers. What reaſons could induce theſe authors to rank this among the Biledulgerid provinces we know not: certain it is, that writers of an older date, and the Turks themſelves, place it in the interior parts of Algiers. However, we ſhall here give a ſhort account of it under the former diviſion, as we find it in La Croix and Ogilvie. Tycarte, the capital, which gives its appellation to the kingdom, ſtands at the diſtance of a hundred leagues from Tegorari, and a hundred and fifty from the Mediterranean ſea, in 32 deg. 50 min. eaſt longitude, and 27 deg. 10 min. north latitude. Here is the ancient city called Turaphylun by Ptolemy, built by the Numidians upon a mountain, the foot of which is waſhed by a ſmall river, over which is a drawbridge. Here it is fortified by good ſtrong ſtone walls, and on the other ſide by the rugged precipices of an inacceſſible rock. It contains about two thouſand five hundred houſes, built of ſtone, lime, and brick, with a handſome moſque in the center. *Kingdom of Tycarte.*

In the whole kingdom of Tycarte there are about forty ſtrong holds, and a hundred and fifty villages, which pay a conſiderable tax or revenue to the ſuperior, whom we do not find under the title of a king, though the country has the appellation of kingdom. The people conſiſt of nobility and artificers: they are rich in dates, but poor in corn and other grain, which they import from Conſtantina, giving in exchange their fruits; they are fond of ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, and ſo hoſpitable, that they lodge them for months without expecting any return, and prefer marrying their daughters to them, rather than to their own neighbours. When, however, no ſuch alliances happen to be made, and that their gueſts are going away, without any expectation or tie upon them ever to return, they load them with preſents, which impreſs the higheſt ideas of their liberality.

Querquelen.

Next is the lordſhip of Querquelen, which is, in ſtrict propriety, no more than a province of the kingdom of Tycarte. At preſent its capital gives its name to the country, through Ptolemy deſcribes it under the appellation of Tamarca. It was built by the Numidians in the middle of the deſerts, in 37 degrees 30 minutes eaſt longitude, and 25 degrees 50 minutes north latitude. The country produces great abundance of dates, but ſcarce any grain or cattle, or indeed animals, except camels and oſtriches. Moſt of the natives are Negroes, both in complexion and features; not owing, it is thought, to the climate, but to the connexion they have with the Blacks, and the frequent intermarriages, by which, in time, the children acquire the exterior hue of the mother; for ſcarcely any black men marry the Numidian women. The country is filled with artizans and merchants; the firſt ſupplying the latter with materials for trade, and receiving in return the neceſſaries of life. They are open, free, generous, and hoſpitable to ſtrangers, induſtrious in their occupations, inſomuch that by dint of trade they have rendered this barren country rich, and abounding with all the luxuries of life, though hardly any of them are indigenous. They have a ſuperior, with the authority, but without the name and badges of majeſty, who has a revenue of a hundred and fifty thouſand ducats; but it is probable, that out of this he pays a tribute to the Arabs, as he certainly does to the Bey of Algiers.

Province of Zeb.

Zeb is the next province; and it is remarkable, that Procopius diſtinguiſhes it by the ſame appellation. On the ſouth it is incloſed by the great road leading from Tecort to Querquelen; on the north, by the mountains of Bugie; on the eaſt, by the province of Biledulgerid Proper; and on the weſt, by the deſerts of Mazila. Leo Africanus reckons five fine cities, beſides towns and large villages innumerable, in this province. The city of Biſcare, ſituated in 30 degrees 10 minutes north latitude, and 34 degrees of longitude, is a place of great antiquity, built by the Romans, and deſtroyed by the Arabs, who after-

afterwards rebuilt it. At present it is but indifferently peopled; but the inhabitants are in general a civil good-natured people; though their houses are of all others the most inhospitable, on account of the swarms of scorpions, vipers, and poisonous reptiles, which crawl about in every corner. Hence it is that the inhabitants desert the city in the summer, when these noxious animals are intolerable, and retire into the country, from which they seldom return till the approaching cold has cleared their houses of their troublesome guests.

About five leagues from Biscare stands Borgie, a town much better peopled, and the residence of a great number of merchants, mechanics, and labourers of all kinds.

Not far from hence is Nesta, a town separated into three divisions by stone walls, each inhabited by a people of different manners and customs from any of the others, notwithstanding the continual intercourse among them. They are all strictly prohibited to intermarry; and if any man leaves his own division to settle in one of the others, he and his posterity are outlawed. In Nesta is a fortress, the structure of which shews it to be of Roman workmanship: as to the inhabitants, they are covetous, thievish in their disposition, and intolerably insolent to strangers, whom they insult and oppress by every method in their power.

The last province, according to this distribution, is that of Biledulgerid Proper, which we have described so fully as affords room for no addition. Thus the reader has had a complete view of the coast, from the gulph of Benin to the borders of Barbary; and manners, customs, and religion of the inhabitants; the produce of the countries; their trade with the Europeans; and every other particular regarding that vast tract, which we imagined could contribute either to his instruction or amusement.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVIII.

The Modern History of Barbary.

SECT. I.

A general Account of that vast Tract of Land; its several Nations, Governments, Wars, and Changes, previous to its Establishment into the various Kingdoms and Republics of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, in which they have continued to this present Time.

A general account of Barbary.

WE have now finished our progress around the eastern, southern, and western coasts of this vast African peninsula, and given the best account we could procure, not only of the several kingdoms and states situate upon them, but likewise of the various inland countries, empires, and nations contiguous to them, as far as our best modern authors and travellers have been able to penetrate, or receive any certain intelligence. Our next task leads us through the only remaining northern tract, commonly known by the general name of Barbary, the part best known to us, in consequence of its commerce with Europe. Barbary stretches in length from east to west, that is, from the southermost limits of Egypt to the Streights of Gibraltar, full 35 degrees of longitude, and from thence to Santa Cruz, the utmost western verge of it, about six more, in all 41 degrees; and is there bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, as it is within by the Mediterranean Sea. The whole extent of the coast is computed to amount to above seven hundred and fifty-seven German leagues. On the south, indeed, it is confined within much narrower bounds, stretching no farther than from the 27th to the 35th degree and a half of latitude, or about one hundred and twenty-eight German miles [b].

Situation, boundaries, and extent of coast.

We shall not here relate what we have said of its ancient state, in a former part of this work, but confine our-

[b] Leo Afric. lib. i. cap. 1, & seq. Grammay Afric. lib. i. cap. 3, & seq. Marmol. Afric. lib. i. cap. 6. Davity, Dapper, Linschot, & al. plur. Ramus. Voyag. lib. i. cap. 1. Shaw's Travels, p. 5, & seq. & alib. pass.

selves

ſelves to that part of its hiſtory from the time at which the natives ſhook off the yoke of the Roman and Greek emperors, reſuming their liberty under their own natural, or at leaſt African princes, down to that of their forming themſelves into the variety of kingdoms in which we now find them, the principal of which are thoſe of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; for it muſt be here obſerved, that thoſe of Telenſin, or Tremecen, have been ſince incorporated with that of Algiers; and that of Barca, or Barce, hath been reduced to a dependence on that of Tripoli.

According to this diviſion, therefore, and the route we have hitherto followed round the whole African coaſts, Barbary begins on the weſt at the famed Mount Atlas, called by the Arabs Ayduacal, or Al Duacal, and incloſes the ancient kingdoms of Suez and Dela, now provinces of Morocco; thence extending north-eaſtward along the Atlantic coaſt, to the Pillars of Hercules at Cape Finiſterre, through the Streights of Gibraltar, and ſo on, by an eaſtern courſe, along the Mediterranean coaſt to the city of Alexandria, which is the ſouthern boundary of Egypt, where it joins to this of Barbary. Both coaſts, whether watered by the Atlantic Ocean, or by the Mediterranean, are fertile in corn and paſturage; the former being watered by a multitude of ſmall and large rivers which come down from the Great Atlas, and empty themſelves into the ocean; the other extends along the declivity of a vaſt ridge of mountains, ſome of them of a conſiderable height, ſpreading above forty leagues into the inland, all of them watered by a multitude of rivers, which, after a great number of windings through a vaſt variety of pleaſant and fertile valſies, diſcharge themſelves into the Mediterranean. We may add, that the temperature of its climate adds not a little to its fecundity; and if not altogether, yet in a great meaſure, frees it from the extremes of blaſting cold, and burning heat, felt by the other two. It may be truly affirmed of both the coaſts and mountains along the Mediterranean, that they partake more of the extreme coldneſs of the one than of the heat of the other. They have great quantities of ſnow in the winter, and the tops of ſome of them are quite covered with it all the year round.

Temperate climate and ſeaſons.

Their winter, which begins about the middle of October, proves frequently very ſevere, and is attended with long and nipping froſts [c]. The rains commonly begin about the end of the month, and continue till the end of

[c] Leo, Marmol, Grammay, & al. ſupra citat.

January; but how severe soever the weather may be in the morning, the afternoons are commonly warm. In February it becomes milder, and the weather changes usually three or four times in a day. In March the west and north winds begin to blow powerfully, gradually unlock the earth, diffusing universal verdure. During the whole spring season, which begins about the latter end of February, the weather continues for the most part serene and pleasant, except from the latter end of April to that of May, when the kind refreshing showers begin to fall in great plenty, which, warmed by the moderate rays of the sun, bring every product of the earth to a gradual maturity; insomuch that, by the latter end of May, they begin to gather ripe figs and cherries, in Tunis, Algiers, and some parts of Morocco; by the middle of July their apples, pears, and plums, are in full maturity, and the gathering of grapes and other later fruits is completed by the latter end of September, which are commonly more or less copious according to the quantity of rain they have had from the 25th of April to the 25th of May; on which account they style this rain by the title of Naisan, or water sent from heaven, and lay in a provision of it in vessels for their future use [d].

Spring season.

Summer excessive hot.

The summer begins, according to their reckoning, on the 28th of May, and lasts till the 29th of August; during which the heats are excessive and dangerous, especially if they have great rains in June and July; at which time the atmosphere becomes inflamed to such a degree, as to cause malignant fevers, and other dangerous diseases of the pestilential kind, which carry off myriads of people.

Autumn.

Length of heat and cold.

Their autumn begins on the 27th of August, and ends on the 16th of November, and from the first of these one begins to feel a sensible diminution of the heat. The winter begins on the 17th of November, and ends on the 16th of February. They reckon the year to have forty days of excessive cold, and as many of excessive hot weather; the former begins on or about the 12th of December, and the latter about the 12th of June.

The people of Barbary reckon three sorts of winds which are extremely dangerous and detrimental; the east, south-east, and south. These, in the months of May and June, seldom fail of blasting the fruits, and burning up every kind of growing grain; to which disaster the fogs and mists, which usually reign at such times, greatly contribute. They are moreover greatly exposed during the latter end of their autumn, their whole winter, and the be-

[d] Leo, Marmol, & al. sup. citat.

ginning

ginning of the ſpring, to violent rains, ſnow, hail, thunder and lightning.

As for thoſe who inhabit the higher lands, eſpecially along the ridge of mountains of the Great Atlas, they reckon but two ſeaſons in the year, the winter and the ſummer; the former laſts from October to April, during which there fall vaſt quantities of ſnow. From April to September, their ſummer, in the vallies, is exceſſively hot, but on the higher grounds more temperate and pleaſant, and, on the tops not warm enough to melt away the winter ſnow, which is there to be ſeen from one end of the year to the other, as it is on the Alps, Pyrenees, and other more northern regions. *But two ſeaſons on Mount Atlas.*

Barbary is chiefly inhabited by three ſorts of people; namely, Moors, Maures, who are the original natives; the Arabs, who have over-run this country; and the Turks, who have ſince made themſelves maſters of ſome of the beſt provinces of it, and the ſeveral kingdoms of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, though under a kind of tribute to, or dependence on the Othman Porte [e]. *Inhabitants.*

The national character of the Africans we have already had occaſion to deſcribe, very little to their honour. It cannot but be owned, however, that the cruel oppreſſion they ſuffer under their ſeveral tyrannic governments, hath greatly contributed to their degeneracy, and that one can hardly imagine a more abject and miſerable condition than their's is, cruſhed on one hand with a heavy load of taxes, and treated with the utmoſt cruelty by their inſulting maſters; and, on the other, expoſed to the continual inroads of the plundering Arabs, who, on ſuch occaſions, never fail to ſtrip them of the ſmall pittance they are able to lay up; and they dare not provide more than barely ſerves them the year round, leſt a greater abundance ſhould either induce thoſe freebooters to viſit them oftener, or their Mooriſh landlords to raiſe their rents. If they chance to have any ſuperfluity, through an unexpected good crop, and take ever ſo great care to conceal it, by burying it under ground, or ſtowing it in cheſts or caverns, they are in no leſs danger of being baſtinadoed, and even tortured by both, to oblige them to diſcover it; ſo that, upon the whole, in order to avoid the cruel oppreſſions of the one, and the inſults and ravages of the other, they are content to buy their ſafety and eaſe, at the expence of the moſt pinching and contemptible penury, hunger and indigence. *The abject condition of its ancient inhabitants.*

[e] Marmol, ubi ſupra, cap. 8, & al. ubi ſupra.

It will not be improper, however, to apprise our readers, that what we have already said of this wretched people relates chiefly to the Moors who live at large in the country, upon their agriculture and cattle, like one class of the Arabs. As to those who live in sea-ports along the coast, they are allowed to follow variety of handicraft trades and manufactures, and even to carry on some commerce by land and sea. Of course they fare a little better, though no less oppressed with taxes and other exactions, and, if any thing, are more cruelly treated and insulted by their lordly masters, of whom they stand in the greatest awe and dread; the least oversight in point of respect to the meanest soldier or officer in the government, being deemed crime enough to expose them to a sound beating, if poor, or a heavy mulct, if otherwise.

The Arabs in Barbary described.

The Arabs are here the same as we have seen them in other parts of Africa, follow the same ways of living, are governed by their own despotic cheyks, and all of them, except those of the wandering kind, and such as live under the dominion of the emperors of Morocco and Fez, are in some sort tributary to the Turks, ever since they have made themselves masters of the remainder of the Barbary Coast. If there be any difference between these and those who are dispersed in other parts, it is this, by being under more severe and tyrannic governments, they are more grievously oppressed, and oftener punished with military execution, either for non-payment of tribute, or even for running too far in arrear. This oppression often obliges them to abandon their habitations, and seek for shelter among the most rocky and inaccessible mountains, where they are sure the Turkish forces cannot come at them. This, however, is to be understood only of those who live in the country, and along the ridge of Mount Atlas; but there is another and more civilized sort of them, who are, like the Moors, settled in some of the towns and villages, and apply themselves to agriculture, and especially in breeding that fine and so much esteemed race of horses, known to us by the name of barbs, for which their country is famed all over Europe.

Their dreadful plunderings.

As for the wild or wandering Arabs, who range at large along the Great Atlas and other parts of Barbary, they are not only as great a nuisance as in other parts of Africa, but, in some respects, a more dangerous one, being commonly more warlike, bold, and even desperate, in all their plundering excursions, especially in their attempts on the large and rich caravans, which go from Morocco into Egypt,

Egypt, in which they ſpare none that oppoſe them, but ſlay and butcher, and carry off all that come in their way.

The Arabs of each claſs are much given to the ſtudy of aſtronomy and aſtrology, to which they are diſpoſed by their paſtoral life, productive of much leiſure, their clear ſkies, and natural ſuperſtition. They neither ſow, reap, plant, travel, buy, or ſell, or undertake any expedition, without previouſly conſulting the ſtars, or in other words, their almanacks (C), or ſome of the makers of them, whether they be Mohammedans or Idolaters.

The Turks in Barbary deſcribed.

The third and laſt ſort of inhabitants of Barbary are the Turks, and theſe are not only of much later date, and by far the feweſt in number, but one may add by far the worſt, and in all reſpects, except their uncontrolled power, the moſt contemptible of all the three, being originally no better than a wretched crew of indigent, looſe, idle, and thieviſh fellows, inliſted in and about Conſtantinople, and ſent from thence once in three years to recruit the ſoldiery. Theſe having learned their exerciſe, are initiated into ſome regiment, and from that time have a vote and ſhare in the government, and from thence are raiſed by degrees from one poſt to another, even to that of admiral, vizir, and even to the beyric. In all which, even from the very loweſt, they behave with the moſt inſupportable inſolence and tyranny over their Mooriſh vaſſals, who, by a long ſeries and variety of oppreſſions, are become ſuch daſtards, that the wealthieſt of them tremble at the ſight of a Turkiſh common ſoldier. It cannot be imagined that any thing elſe than ſuch a height of inſolence and tyranny, could have enabled ſuch a ſmall number of Turkiſh ſoldiers as are in the three kingdoms of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, to hold ſuch a multitude of Moors and Arabs under ſo long and ſevere a ſubjection. How they raiſed themſelves to that extraordinary height of power will be beſt ſeen in the hiſtory of each of thoſe kingdoms; in the mean time it will not be amiſs to

Their tyranny over the Moors.

(C) As it is from them, and their vicinity to Europe, that this art, no leſs uſeful in one ſenſe, than ſtupid and ridiculous in another, hath paſſed over to us, and ſpread itſelf through every part of it, ſo thoſe aſtronomical compoſitions have ſtill every where retained not only their old Arabic name of *almanack*, or *al manack*, or *the diary*, but have been, like their's, for a long while, and are ſtill, among many European nations, interſperſed with a great number and variety of aſtrological rules for planting, ſowing, bleeding, purging, &c.

Barbary, why so called.

say a word or two concerning the origin of the name of Barbary, concerning which our authors greatly vary in their conjectures. Some will have it that the Romans, after they had conquered that large tract, gave it that name in contempt and dislike of the rude and barbarous manners of the natives. Marmol, rejecting that disgraceful etymology, says it is derived from the Arabic word Berber, a name which the Arabs gave to the ancient inhabitants, and which they still retain to this day in many parts of this tract, especially along the long ridge of the Great Atlas, where they are very numerous [g]; which name those new invaders gave them on account of the barrenness of their country.

Much the same thing is affirmed by Leo Africanus, who tells us, that it was given to it by the Arabs, on account of their strange language, which appeared to them an inarticulate murmur, the Arabic word barbar signifying *a murmuring sound* or *noise* [h]; at the same time he tells us, that others derive its etymon from the single word bar, twice repeated, which signifies a *desert*, such as it was for the most part, till the Arabs poured their numerous hords into it; so that the fugitive king Ifrik, from whom the whole African continent is pretended to have received its name, being closely pursued by his enemies in his flight out of Arabia Felix, and in great perplexity which way to steer his course, some of his retinue, who knew the country, cried out to him, Bar Bar, that is, *To the Desert, To the Desert.* So that, upon the whole, its name seems rather derived from its barrenness of inhabitants, than their barrenness of manners, though it is since become one of the most fertile of the former, and barren and destitute of the latter of any belonging to that large continent, if we except the Caffers, Giagas, and some other truly barbarous nations in the heart of it, of whom we have given an account in some former chapters; the whole Barbary coast having been little better for these few last centuries, than a continual nest of infamous pirates, though in other respects so happy in its soil, situation, and climate.

Besides the Turks who belong to the soldiery, and have a share in the government, there are multitudes of others invited thither by the favour of the government, and the preference shewn to them above the Arabs and Moors;

[h] Leo, lib. i. cap. 6. [i] Idem ibid.

but

but these, like the rest, are too proud to apply themselves either to husbandry or any laudable and useful trades, but follow either the corsair business, as the most suitable to their high conceit of themselves, as well as the most profitable.

The Barbary Turks make a high profession of Mohammedism, but in their practice are the most loose and negligent observers of its precepts, and indulge themselves in so many things that are forbidden by it, that, excepting the great and laudable regard they pay to the name of God, and their severity in punishing every blasphemous expression, oaths and curses, their whole religion seems little else than a mere outside. They drink wine, and eat sundry kinds of forbidden meats; are extremely remiss in their lents and other fasts; careless in their ablutions, and addicted to a multitude of superstitions, and a dissoluteness of manners, which are abhorred by all true Mohammedans.

They wallow in the most beastly debauches, and are particularly addicted to an infamous unnatural vice, which decency forbids us to name. The truth is, their priests, marabouts, and santons are extremely remiss, if not for the most part a gang of cheats, who readily connive at all such irregularities, the opposing of which would most probably produce no other effect than to lessen their own contributions, without suppressing in the least the common evil.

The Moors, or natives, are likewise, for the most part, Mohammedans, there being but few of them who have not been either induced or forced to embrace Mohammedism, since their becoming subject to the Turks. They are even more scrupulous observers of the law of Mohammed than the Turks themselves, and as they are generally even more ignorant, have adopted every absurdity of superstition. Among the corsairs of Barbary no charm or magic spell, no expedient, though ever so senseless, monstrous, and seemingly diabolical, can be invented, that they will not have recourse to, preferably to any of a more rational nature, and tried efficacy, whether in fights, storms, or other emergencies attending their hazardous profession [1].

Horrid superstition of the Turks.

Neither are their soldiery, civil officers, and merchants, from the highest to the lowest, less addicted to this kind of recourse to their marabouts and other pretended con-

[1] De his, vide Davity, Marmol, Dapper, ibid. & al. plur.

jurers; the former of whom will think himself safer under their piece of parchment wrapped up about his turban scratched over with some scraps out of the Koran, than under complete armour, or at the head of a well disciplined army. Another will rather trust to an astrological scheme, framed by some artist in that way, than to the wisest counsel and best calculated measures; and a third will deem an amulet from some of those pretenders to the magic art, of surer efficacy towards the prevention or curing the most dangerous distemper, than the best prescriptions of a skilful physician, or the virtue of the most experienced medicines. Before we come to speak of these several kingdoms, it will be requisite that we give our readers an account of the various governments which preceded them, as well as of the nations or tribes which held the several reins of them, in order to shew by what means and degrees they coalesced at length into their present form. In the mean time we shall close this general account of Barbary with one observation, namely, that the whole tract of it from one end to the other is so excellently situated for navigation and commerce, so fertile of every necessary of life in its variety of soils and climates, so rich in its mines of gold, silver, and other metals and minerals, so healthy and populous, that it might defy the whole force of Europe or Asia to reduce it, were its inhabitants as industrious as they are indolent and knavish; and were the several nations that inhabit it, or the several powers to which it is subjected, united in one common interest.

SECT. II.

The History of Barbary under the several Dynasties of the Almoravides, Almohedes, Benimerini, &c. down to the Reigns of the Sharifs, and their Establishment in Morocco.

Techifien's reign and conquests.

WE have already hinted at the revolt which the insolence and tyranny of the Arabs caused in these parts under the conduct of the brave Techifien, or Texefien, of the Zinhaghian tribes, who by the help of his marabouts, assembled a powerful army of malecontents in the southern provinces of Numidia and Lybia, on which account they were nicknamed Marabites and Almoravides [k].

[k] Leo Afric. lib. iii. cap. 2. Grammay, Marmol, &al. sup. citat.

This

This was a favourable juncture; the khalif Kayem's forces being then otherwise taken up in quelling other revolts in Syria, Mesopotamia, &c. and the Arabs in Spain engaged in the most bloody wars. He had accordingly all the success he could wish for against the Arabian cheyks, and gained so many signal victories over them, that he effectually drove them not only out of those two provinces, but out of all the western parts, and the whole province of Tingitania, now the empire of Morocco, and reduced all that vast tract under his dominion before his death.

It succeeded by his son.

Techifien was succeeded by his son Yusef, or Joseph, a prince no less brave and successful, than famous for his noble exploits. From the beginning of his reign he laid the foundation of the city of Morocco, as deeming that of Achmed, or Agmed, his father's late residence, not grand and spacious enough for the metropolis of his future empire. Whilst that was building, he sent some of his chief marabouts on an embassy to Tremecen, or Tremessin which province was then chiefly inhabited by a branch of the Zeneti, who were the schismatic sect called Kemin, or Quemin, who had made themselves masters of that whole country, and were become by that time very powerful and insolent, with a design to reduce them to what he deemed the true faith. But those wretches, despising his offers and remonstrances, assembled at the city of Amaf, or Amfa, the capital of it, and murdered his ambassadors and other marabouts, and immediately raised an army of fifty thousand men to invade his dominions, who accordingly were ordered to march with all possible dispatch, before he could have time to oppose them and drive him out of his kingdom.

His conquests.

Yusef no sooner heard of their inhuman treatment of his ambassadors, and their intended expedition against him, than, fired with just resentment, he resolved to anticipate their design. Having speedily mustered up his army, he led it, by long marches, into their country, which he ravaged with fire and sword. The Zeneti, finding him too strong for them, instead of opposing his progress, abandoned their country, and retired with their prince towards Fez, in hopes of receiving some succour from thence; but they found in the Fezzans as bad an enemy as in the Almoravides: whilst the latter were employed in burning their towns and slaughtering men, women, and children that were left behind, the former marched out against them in the same hostile manner as against invaders, rebels, and traitors. Meeting with them near

near the river Burregreg, encumbered with their families and baggage, and ready to expire with hunger and weariness, they fell upon them, and cut them all in pieces except a small number, who, attempting to save themselves by swimming over that river, were mostly carried away by the current, and some others, who in their flight perished among rocks and precipices [l]. Such was the fatal end of those proud invaders and murderers, of whom near a million are computed to have been cut off by both sides, whilst Yusef reduced their whole country to a mere desert. This was, however, quickly repeopled by a numerous colony of Fezzans, who settled there under the protection and vassalage of their reigning kings.

Yusef led his victorious forces back to Morocco, but was not long there before he declared war against those two princes, and entered the Fezzan dominions at the head of a powerful army. Having defeated their forces near Mount Homegui, he made himself master of all their dominions, forced the Fezzans at Tremecen to become his vassals and tributaries, and enlarged his conquests all along the Mediterranean. He reduced the kingdom of Tremecen, drove the successors of Abu'l Habex, who had reigned in Kayrwan, out of Bugeia, but restored them soon after to their ancient dominions, as being Africans of the same tribe with himself, and these held them afterwards during the whole time of the Almoravides government. In this excursion he likewise reduced the kings of Fez and Tunis to become vassals and tributaries to him; and after all his successes, returned victorious to Morocco, where, after his father's example, he took upon him the title of Emir Hamunim, or Emir Al Mumenin [m]. His martial and ambitious temper did not permit him to continue long in quiet. His resumed his operations in such a manner as struck a general terror among the Arabian cheyks, who refused to own themselves his vassals and pay him tribute; against whom he waged such a bloody war, that neither the Libyan nor Numidian deserts, nor mountains, could shelter them from his arms. He attacked them in such of their retreats, castles, and fortresses as were, till then, deemed impregnable, and even inaccessible to any but those of that nation; and this to the great regret of the other Africans, who were no less annoyed by the ravages which his numerous forces committed in

Makes war upon the Arabs, and reduces them.

[l] Leo, ubi sup. cap. 2. Marmol. lib. ii. cap. 31. Grammay, lib. iv. cap. 2. & al.

[m] Lebtarik, Leo, & al. ubi supra.

their

their march through their territories. Neither could he be prevailed on to discontinue his excursions against them, till he had reduced them, by fair or forcible means, to his subjection; by which time his metropolis being quite finished, he resolved to cross over into Spain, and take advantage of the intestine wars, with which it was then miserably torn, to enlarge his conquests on that side.

Sails into Spain.

This resolution, however, was not taken till he had received such pressing invitations from thence, as did, in a great measure, assure him of success, and of his being joined by several Moorish princes there, who would be proud to fight under his victorious banner. He accordingly embarked, and crossed the streights of Gibraltar. He was, however, greatly disappointed in his expectations, though he signalized himself with his usual bravery upon every occasion; but as these exploits of his are foreign to our present African history, we shall defer the detail of them till we come to that of Spain, which will follow in due course, according to our plan, in some subsequent volume. After he had repulsed the Christians with great vigour, he had the mortification to see those Moorish princes, who had so warmly invited him over, become all of a sudden as cold and disaffected towards him. This defection did not hinder him, however, from pursuing his conquests. He reduced the greatest parts of the kingdoms of Murcia, Granada, Cordova, Juen, and some few places in Valencia, and returned into Africa with his son, leaving those conquered dominions under the government of his nephew Mohammed, with a considerable part of his army.

His conquests there.

He was no sooner arrived in his African dominions, than he published a general gazie, or *religious war*, through his dominions, and, with a fresh and numerous army, embarked at Ceuta for his Spanish conquests, and soon after rejoined his nephew Mohammed in Andalusia, which they ravaged with fire and sword [n].

A.D. 1107.

His next descent was made five years after, when he carried his arms thither with such success, that he penetrated into Portugal, where he reduced the city of Lisbon, and with a great part of it that kingdom, but lost the cities of Alguazir and Gibraltar, which he had taken before, but were now retaken from him by the king of Seville, Alphonso's brother-in-law. In the mean time, Alphonso having equipped a powerful fleet, sailed over to Africa;

Defeated at sea.

[n] Lebtarik, Leo, & al. ubi supra.

but

but meeting with that of Yusef in his way to Barbary, a hot engagement soon followed, in which the former sunk ten gallies of the latter; after which success he continued his course directly to Barbary. Here he received proposals from Yusef for a truce, but refused to consent to it, unless he submitted to become his tributary; a proposition which so exasperated the Almoravide monarch, that he swore he would never desist until he had utterly extirpated Christianity in Spain. In pursuance of which vow, he prepared for a fresh descent, and landing at Malaga, led his army into the enemy's country with great fury and little conduct. The consequence of which was that famous battle, since called the battle of the Seven Counts. Being obliged to raise the siege of Toledo, which he had invested, and to retire from the superior forces of Don Sanches, who was sent by his father to its relief, he found himself so closely pursued by that brave young prince, that he was obliged to give him battle; in which, though he had the good fortune to defeat and slay him, together with a number of other noble warriors, yet he lost so great a number of his own men, that he was obliged to return to Africa, where he died soon after at his capital of Morocco, leaving the sovereignty to his son Ali[o].

His last expedition into Spain.

Battle of the Seven Counts.

Yusef dies.

A.D. 1110.

Ali, the third king of Africa.

This prince, less warlike than his father, instead of minding his Spanish conquests, employed his thoughts in erecting several sumptuous buildings, and in particular the great mosque of Morocco, whilst Alphonso, king of Arragon, was daily recovering some considerable cities from him; neither could he be prevailed upon to pass over into Spain, till strongly pressed to it by the united instances of the Moorish princes, whom Alphonso greatly harrassed and distressed all that while; and when at length he was obliged to come to their assistance, he spent a whole campaign there without performing any thing considerable. He was no less unsuccessful in his subsequent expeditions, in the last of which, though joined by the united strength of the Moorish chiefs, he was defeated and slain by king Alphonso, with the loss of thirty thousand men, in the sixth year of his reign[p]. He was succeeded by his son Al Abraham, vulgarly called Brahem, a prince as much addicted to pleasure as averse to martial exploits, who was no sooner declared successor to the throne than

A.D. 1115.

Defeated and slain. Al Abraham, the fourth and last king of the Almoravides.

[o] Lebtarik, Leo, Gramm. & al. ubi supra.

[p] Ibid. ubi sup Gramm. lib. ii. cap. 7. Ramus. Viag. vol. i. part ii. Marmol, & al.

he

he confirmed all the governors and chief officers of his eastern provinces of Barbary, Numidia, &c. in their posts, upon which they readily acknowleged him for their sovereign, with the title of Emir Al Moslemim, or *Chief Commander of the Faithful.* By this act, having secured the peace of his dominions on that side, and seeing all quiet at home, he gave himself no farther thought than that of pursuing his pleasures and extravagant debauches, which in time obliged him to load his subjects with such an intolerable weight of taxes, as produced general complaint, and ended in that strange and fatal revolution, which at once transferred the supreme government from the tribe of the noble Almoravides to that upstart race since called, from its obscure founder, Almohedi, or Al Mohedes, and of which we are now going to give an account, though it did not begin before the twenty-fifth year of his reign. From this circumstance the reader may judge how unworthily that monarch spent the former part of it, seeing there has nothing happened worthy to be recorded concerning him during that long period, if we except the unfortunate attempt which the Christians made on the city of Kayrwan.

The rise of the Almohedes.

The author of this surprising change was a Berber, of the tribe of Muzamada, named Abd'allah, a famed preacher among those of his tribe, who were seated along Mount Atlas. The better to succeed in his premeditated design, he took upon him the name, or rather the title of Mohdi, or Mohedi, and set up for head or leader of the orthodox, or unitarians, who by this time were become so numerous by his preaching, and had swelled him to such a degree of insolence, as to dare even to bid defiance to the king; but he might easily have been suppressed in the beginning, had not Brahem been too much immersed in pleasures to regard the revolt, and too confident to apprehend any ill consequences from the insurrection of such miscreants. He soon, however, found cause to alter his measures, when he became apprised of the ravages they committed in those western parts, under pretence of standing up for liberty, and how daily they increased in number and boldness under that pretence. He was at length prevailed upon to march against them, with a force by far too small to oppose them, so that he was totally defeated in the very first engagement.

Abd'allah's revolt and success.

Abd'allah, in the mean time, seeing himself master of the field, failed not to take all precautions to shut up all the passes to prevent the king's retreat to his capital, whilst he

he dispatched another part of his army thither to invest it in form, and a third under the conduct of Abdolmumen, to go in close pursuit of the fugitive prince. This last order was so punctually executed, that the unfortunate Brahem was at length constrained to fly for refuge to the city of Fez. Here he had the mortification of seeing the gates shut against him, but opened soon after to receive his pursuers. In this extremity he pitched upon the city of Auran, vulgarly Oran, for his last refuge, into which he was at first readily admitted; but did not enjoy that small respite long, before he saw the place invested by Abdolmumen, vulgarly called Abdulman, and threatened with fire and sword. The magistrates earnestly entreated him to seek for some other shelter, since they were in no condition to protect him against such a force. He accordingly set out in a dark night, with only a favourite wife on horseback behind him; but being discovered by the guards, and seeing no way left to avoid falling into their hands, he, in a fit of despair, clapt spurs to his horse, and leaped down a precipice, where he and his wife were dashed in pieces. Such was the fatal end of that unhappy prince, which put a final period to the empire of the Almoravides [q]

His death.

Abd'olmumen proclaimed king.

Abd'olmumen being apprised of Brahem's death, caused his head to be cut off, in order to have it carried in triumph to Morocco, and staid no longer in those parts than to levy the tribute: then he traversed the kingdom of Tremecen, in his way to Morocco, where he found the traitor Abd'allah dead, and was soon after declared his successor by all the chiefs of that revolt, and proclaimed king of the Al Mohedes, under the title of Al Emir Al Mumin Abd'allah Mohammed Abd'al Mumen Ebn Abd'allah Ibni Ali, that is, *Chief*, or *Emperor*, *of the true Believers*, *of the House of Mohammed Abd'al Mumen*, *the Son of Abd'al Mumen*, *the Son of Abd'allah*, *of the Lineage of Ali* (D).

Brahem

[q] Iidem ibid vide & Grammay, lib. iv. cap. 7. Ramus. Viag. vol. i. p. 2. Marmol. lib. ii. cap. 33. & al.

(D) Abd'allah reigned just long enough to make some prudent regulations according to his sect, for the more firm establishment both of it and of his new kingdom, and left them behind in his last will. He appointed a council of forty disciples of his sect, all of them preachers; some of whom were to regulate all public affairs, and, at proper seasons, to go preaching about the country, and spread their doctrine abroad; and had sixteen other disciples to serve them as secretaries, all preachers

His devastation and cruelties.

Brahem had left a son behind him, named Isaac, an infant, whom, at his departure from that capital, he had committed to the care of proper governors. On the news of his father's death, they caused him to be proclaimed king, and obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him; of which circumstance the new emir was no sooner informed than he marched thither, and invested the city which he took by assault: he strangled young Isaac with his own hands, thus extinguishing the Almoravidic line, called by the African writers, luptumns and marabuts. In order to obliterate the memory of those founders of that metropolis as much as he could, he caused all its stately ancient edifices, particularly the great mosque, the royal palace, and other public buildings, to be levelled with the ground, and new ones to be built in their stead, after a more ample and sumptuous manner: these he called by his own name; but he had the mortification to find their old appellations remain still indelible in the people's memory, though erased by him from their old marble and stone monuments, and to hear these new edifices still called by the names of the old ones. He was no less industrious in extirpating all the unhappy remains of the Almoravidic race. He exercised the same cruelty against the citizens, officers, and soldiers, who had signalized themselves in the defence of that city, or by their zeal

preachers likewise; and out of the former were to be chosen the successors to the regal and pontifical throne; for they were, after their founder's example, to assume both these titles and dignities.

Their disciples, or followers of their sect, were styled Mohameddin, or Al Mohaddin; but the Arabian writers style them only preachers, and the Spanish Al Mohedes, and the descendants and successors of that tribe continued to style themselves Emir Al Mumenin, or *Chiefs of the Faithful*, or *true Believers*, as long as their dynasty continued, and have been very powerful both in Africa and Spain.

As to the particular tenets of this new sect, if we except their more specious pretence to orthodoxy, as stricter adherers to, and preachers of, the unity of God, they had little or nothing peculiar, but what was artfully calculated by its founder, and suited to the loose genius of that people; which, added to their great outcries for liberty, and against the tyranny of the Almoravides, could not fail of alluring the greatest part of the kingdom to second the revolt, and embrace their sect and doctrine (1).

(1) Grammay Africa illustrata, lib. iv. cap. 7. Ramusio, vol. i. part ii. Marmol Afric. lib. ii. cap. 33. & al. sup. citat.

and

and loyalty to their infant sovereign; so that the first years of his reign were little better than an æra of blood and slaughter [i].

The face of Africa changed.

Mean while his cruelties and conquests, as well as the strenuous opposition of the Almoravide governors in most of their conquered provinces, as well as of others, who, weary of the Almoravide tyranny, thought it now a lucky juncture to shake off their galling yoke, occasioned a surprising change through the greatest part of those provinces, and more particularly in Barbary, where the Arabs of Numidia, who had been driven from their seats by their Almoravide masters, and forced to retire to the mountains, took this opportunity to invade, and make themselves masters of Tunis and Tremecen, and forced the native Africans to submit; but they themselves were quickly after obliged to stoop to that of the Almohedes. On the other hand, several of the Almoravide governors, taking the advantage of the wars and distractions then reigning, erected their governments into independent principalities and petty kingdoms, and those who dwelt in the mountainous parts, into a variety of lordships, under their own cheyks. In particular, the states of Barbary, Tripoli, Kayrwan, Tunis, Algiers, Tremecen, and Bugeia, had each their own sovereign. The Nubians and Libyans had shewed them the example, and many others were ready to follow it.

Whilst these changes were introduced in Africa, the Moorish princes, greatly harrassed by king Alphonso, sent in vain to Abd'olmumen repeated intreaties to come over to their assistance; but his own dominions requiring his whole attention against so many opposers and deserters, all he could do, was to send over to them an army of thirty thousand men from among his African mountaineers, the Gomerites, who proved exceedingly serviceable to them against the Christians. All this while he was pursuing his own conquests with surprising success, assisted by those of his own valorous tribe of Mozamuda, and especially those of the branch of Beneguereqal, who, as being of his own family, had the greatest share in his favour and confidence. Within the space of a few years, he reduced the Numidians and Galatians on the west, and the kingdoms of Tunis, Tremecen, and the greatest part of Mauritania and Tingitana, some by allurements, and others by forcible means, under his subjection; excepting only the Arabs of Tunis,

[i] Iid. ibid.

who

who still preserved their liberty and government, through various successes, until they were wholly subdued by the great Al Mansur, the fourth king of the Almohedic line, as will be seen in the sequel. Abd'olmumen likewise dispossessed the Christians of the chief city of Africa, or Mohedia, and some others on the same coast, after they had been a considerable time in their possession [1], besides other conquests which he made in Spain and Portugal. He died in the seventh year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Yusef, or Joseph (E).

Takes Mohedia.

A.D. 1156.

Yusef, the second king of the Almohedes.

Yusef proved a martial prince like his father, and inherited all his hatred to the Christians; so that he had no sooner quelled some slight troubles in his new kingdom, and established the kings of Tunis and Bugeia in their respective kingdoms, as his tributaries and vassals, than he prepared to embark for Spain, to the assistance of the Moorish princes, who earnestly pressed him to it, finding themselves grievously harrassed by the Christian powers. He set sail accordingly, at the head of a more powerful armada than had, perhaps, ever crossed that sea, consisting of sixty thousand horse, and above one hundred thousand foot, and, at his landing, was joined by that of the Moorish princes, who had invited him thither, and came, according to their engagements, to take the oaths of fidelity to him. We shall defer the detail of his various successes till we come to the Spanish history, and only observe here, that it did by no means answer his expectations; and that he was glad, at the end of eight years, to return into Africa, to suppress a revolt which the Zeneti had raised in the kingdom of Tremecen; and, as it was his long absence which had encouraged them to it, so his

1 Ibid. ibid. vide & Grammay, ubi supra, cap. 7. Ramusio, Marmol, & al.

(E) Abd'olmumen, or, as others write him, Abd'almon, is reported to have been the son of an obscure potter, but a youth of a bold and enterprising genius. After his coming to the crown, he took care to efface the meanness of his extract, by giving himself out for a descendent from the family of the great prophet Mohammed, and a person, like him, chosen and sent by God, to preach and propagate his religion among the Africans, and to suppress the tyranny of the Almoravides, and oppose the heresy of the schismatic khalifs of Egypt (1).

(1) Grammay Afric. illustrat. lib. iv. cap. 7. & al. ubi supra.

unexpected return and presence quickly put a stop to it. As soon as he had made all quiet there, he raised a fresh army, more numerous than the former, and crossed over again into Spain, where he had much better success, and carried his conquests so far, that the pope and most of the Christian princes of Europe joined their forces into a kind of crusade, to put a stop to his progress. Whilst he was besieging Don Alphonso Henriquez in Santarino, in Portugal, he received his death by an arrow, shot, some say, by one of his own men; others, by a Portuguese. However that be, the Moorish princes raised the siege immediately after his death, and the African troops sailed back into Barbary.

Jaacob Al Mansur, third king of the Almohedes.

Yusef was succeeded by his warlike son, Yakub, or Jaacob, surnamed Al Mansur, or *the Conqueror*, who found his African dominions in the utmost confusion, and the greatest part of his tributary provinces in open revolt; and it was not without great difficulty that he reduced them to their duty. The king of Fez was one of the first who thought it the safest way to acknowlege him for his sovereign, whilst those of Tremecen and Tunis absolutely refused to follow his example. He therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice, and stir up the Arabs against them; to this end he clapped up a kind of feigned peace with their cheyks, and so successfully instigated both nations, underhand, against each other, that, whilst they were at mutual hostilities, he had leisure enough to raise an army in Tingitania, under pretence of suppressing the tyranny of the Arabs, but in reality to join with them against the Tremecenes and Tunizens, as he actually did; and having defeated those two kings, stripped them of their kingdoms. By this artifice, both sides found themselves strangely over-reached; the two revolted kingdoms were easily brought under subjection, and the Arabs, who had assisted him in it, obliged to transport themselves from these provinces; the most considerable of them into those of Dukela, Tremecen, and Azgar, and the other part into those of Numidia and Libya; by which means, under pretence of settling them in more fertile and pleasant habitations than the barren mountains they inhabited, he effectually weakened and dispersed them, beyond the power of reuniting and molesting these two kingdoms in haste; whilst those who remained in Mauritania and Tingitania were obliged to submit to become his vassals; that nation, known to be out of their element when driven out of their deserts, and to degenerate by degrees from their natural

natural hardinesſ and courage[n]; being forced, inſtead of living upon plunder, either to apply themſelves to agriculture and feeding of cattle, or to ſtarve.

His conqueſts and vaſt dominions.

Thoſe of the province of Azgar continued to pay their tribute to the Almohedes; but thoſe of Dukela and Tremecen, who were more conſiderable and powerful, ſoon found means not only to free themſelves from it, but to oblige the native Africans to pay it to them. Thoſe alſo that were ſent into Numidia and Libya were obliged to ſubmit to the yoke, when they were unacquainted with the country; but by degrees became united, and powerful enough to make themſelves maſters of thoſe provinces, and even to enlarge their dominions, and to make themſelves independent of any government but that of their cheyks.

Al Manſur, having thus far ſecured himſelf both againſt the revolted and the plundering Arabs, and ſettled thoſe parts in quiet, went on with his other conqueſts with ſuch ſpeed and ſucceſs, that he ſaw himſelf maſter, in a little time, of all that tract of land which lieth between Numidia incluſive, and the entire length of the Barbary coaſts from Tripoli to the kingdom of Morocco, including with it thoſe of Fez, Tremecen, Tunis, and Tripoli, the whole extending above one thouſand two hundred leagues in length, and in depth from the Mediterranean to the ſandy deſarts of Libya, above four hundred and eighty, excluſive of his Spaniſh dominions and freſh conqueſts; where the greateſt part of the Mooriſh princes acknowleged him for their ſovereign: he is juſtly eſteemed the greateſt prince, next to the Arabian khalifs, that ever reigned in this part of Africa, as he is alſo better known in hiſtory by his new title of Al Manſur, or Conqueror, than by his own of Abu Jakub. As he had frequent occaſion to croſs the ſea to and from Africa and Spain, on account of the revolts which frequently happened during his abſence from either, he built ſome conſiderable towns and fortreſſes on each coaſt, to facilitate his embarkations, and among them the cities of Rabettoner Sale, Al Calcarquivir, Al Carcarzegued, Manſora, and ſome others, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in the ſequel. By that time he had finiſhed ſome of thoſe, and ſuppreſſed the revolters in Africa, he cauſed a general gazie (F) to be publiſhed through

[n] Iidem ibid.

(F) We have already obſerved, that what the Mohammedans call gazie is a kind of religious war, like the cruſade among the Chriſtians.

his dominions, which brought innumerable multitudes of his subjects to enlist themselves, by which means he quickly raised an army of four hundred thousand men, one hundred thousand of which were horse, and passed immediately into Spain, where he was joined by Fernandez de Castro, his viceroy, at the head of another, and there gained a complete victory over the united forces of the Christians, near the city of Alarcos, on the 19th of July. From thence he pursued his march towards the Tayo, and would have gained many other advantages over them, had not Alphonso been forced, by the badness of his affairs, to sue to him for a truce; which he the more easily obtained, because a fresh revolt in Africa demanded Al Mansur's immediate presence in that country.

A.D. 1195.

Signal victory in Spain.

A.D. 1197.

Grants a truce to Alphonso

Revolt in Morocco.

This last had been hatching by the governor of his capital for three years, during which he had found means to draw the wandering Arabs into his measures, and had raised a numerous army in the adjacent provinces; but upon the news of Al Mansur's arrival at the head of a much superior force, not daring to meet him in the field, he retired and fortified himself in that metropolis. Thither the king led his victorious troops, and laid close siege to it, during a whole year; when his army, in despair of reducing the city, that valiant prince ordered all his officers to repair to his head-quarters, with scaling-ladders, of the height of the walls, by the next morning. He was so readily obeyed, that four thousand of them appeared by that time ready to mount to the assault; when putting himself at their head, "We have (said he to them) fought hitherto for the sake of glory; but now we must fight for the sake of revenge, and to wrest your wives and children out of the hands of traitors and ravishers:" with these words he scaled the walls at the head of them. The assault lasted three whole days and nights; during which the besiegers were plied with constant refreshments, whilst the besieged, quite spent for want of such succour, were forced to abandon the town, and to retire into the fortress.

Strange cruelty and severity.

Al Mansur, followed by his brave troops, entered the city in triumph; but their joy was soon allayed by the stench of the dead bodies, with which they saw the streets quite covered, and were almost suffocated; but that prince would not suffer any of them to be removed, till they were quite consumed, and then ordered the bones to be burnt; alleging, that no smell was sweeter than the stinking carcases of a traitor and an enemy. All this while the fortress, into which the governor had retired, with a great number

number of persons of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, was so closely invested, that they found themselves under a necessity, for want of provisions, of imploring the king's mercy: a marabout, then in high esteem, was pitched upon to apply to him for it, who soon returned to them with the joyful news, that he had obtained it; upon which the governor came out the next day, with all his friends and attendants, to throw themselves at his majesty's feet, and thank him for his great clemency. To their great surprize, however, they beheld the incensed prince's eyes still glaring with anger and resentment; till, no longer able to contain himself, he threw his slipper at the governor, and then ordered him to be beheaded, with all his friends and adherents. Here the marabout, who had accompanied him to the royal presence, offered to expostulate, and insisted upon his promise, but was coldly answered, that no promise was to be kept with such perfidious traitors [n].

A D. 1206.

The king disappears.

Here we must be obliged to put a period to the history of this glorious prince and conqueror, seeing the remainder of it is wrapped up in the deepest obscurity: we are told by the Arabic writers, that, to the great astonishment of his court, he, on a sudden, disappeared, immediately after this execution; touched, as they pretend, with remorse for his cruelty and breach of faith, he wandered about, obscure and unknown, and died at last a poor despised baker at Alexandria. The Africans, who conceal this last circumstance of his turning baker, allow of his dying at Alexandria: they add, that the people of the city of Morocco celebrate the anniversary of his death; and that a favourite wife of his, after having waited a considerable while for his return, and hearing no news of him, suddenly left that capital, and went in search of him, with only a female child she had by him, in her arms; that, after much travelling, she found him at length at Alexandria, where he had lived already some years, undiscovered by any one; that she continued with him till his death; after which she set out on her return to Morrocco, but in her way was stopped at Tunis by the king's son, who would have forced her daughter, at that time grown tall and handsome enough to attract his affection; but upon his being apprised of her noble extract, and her mother producing the certificate of her marriage, he readily consented to marry her. They relate several other

Dies at Alexandria.

[n] Leo, Gramm. Marmol, & al. ubi supra.

things concerning her, which will be more properly seen in the history of that kingdom, whilst we resume that of Morocco, where we left the court in the utmost perplexity and concern about their lost monarch.

Various were their conjectures about his flight, and the cause of it, as well as the methods they took to find him out. The most probable they could form concerning the former was, that he had undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca, in some obscure and ordinary garb, in order to expiate his crime of cruelty and perfidy; and then they elected his brother Al Abraham, or Brahem, to govern the kingdom during his absence, under his son Al Naker; but after having waited a whole year in vain, they raised that young prince to the throne, and confirmed his uncle in the regency of the kingdom *.

Mohammed Al Naker, the last king of the Almohades.

Mohammed, surnamed Al Naker by the Spanish writers, was accordingly proclaimed his father's successor, and with the title of emir, or *prince of the faithful.* He proved a warlike prince like his father, and, on his accession to the crown, resolved to pass into Spain with all speed, where king Alphonso, contrary to the last truce concluded with his father, had recovered several considerable places. To prevent all revolts at home, during his absence, he confirmed the two vassal kings of Tremecen and Tunis in their dominions, and all the other governors of his tributary provinces and chief officers of his kingdom in their old posts and dignities. He next raised the most numerous army that had yet passed into Spain, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, and above three hundred thousand foot, besides the Arabian cheyks, who repaired to him from the eastern and western parts of his dominions, and accompanied him thither, each at the head of his choicest troops. The Christian powers were apprised of his vast armada, and dispatched all the forces they could spare to the assistance of king Alphonso, and the pope at the same time proclaimed a fresh crusade, in such promising and engaging terms, as brought into that kingdom an infinite multitude of strangers, to fight against the infidels.

Mohammed, however, landed with his army in Andalusia, where he was joined by all the Moorish princes, and with them marched directly to Salvaterra, the residence of the knights of Calabra, who had lately wrenched it out of the hands of the Moors, and, after a long and ar-

* Idem, ibid.

duous

duous siege, made himself master of that strong place, as will be seen more fully in the Spanish history. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to engage the whole force of the Christians, on the plains of Tholosa; where he was, though advantageously posted, attacked with such intrepid valour, that he was totally defeated, with the loss of above one hundred and fifty thousand foot, thirty thousand horse, and fifty thousand prisoners. He was forced to abandon his camp, with all its immense and rich baggage, to the plunder of the enemy, himself escaping with great difficulty, attended only by a small number of his men, chiefly by the fleetness of their horses. This famed battle was fought, according to some Arabic writers, in the year of the Hejra 609, but according to the Spanish and other historians, in 617. After this signal overthrow, the Christians gained still fresh advantages over the Moors. Mohammed was glad to hasten back into Africa, as soon as the wind and sea could permit him, leaving his Spanish dominions, and the remainder of his scattered army, under the command of his brother Ebn Zayd, who became soon after king of Valentia.

A.D. 1212.

Totally defeated.

The shame and regret of this defeat, at the head of so numerous an army, and the loss of so many thousand men; joined to the cold reception he met with at his court and capital, where they scrupled not to ascribe his late disgrace to his blindness and cowardice, affected him so sensibly, that it made the short remainder of his reign very uneasy to him, and very probably hastened his end; which as soon as he perceived approaching, he immediately appointed one of his grandsons, named Zeyed Arrax, or, as others write it, Ceyet Barrax, for his successor to the crown. He expired soon after, and the news of his death and successor quickly reached his conquered provinces, where they caused an almost universal revolt. The kings of Tremecen, Fez, and Tunis broke forth into an open revolt, which began to flame out in the first of them, under the conduct of an African named Gamarazan Ebn Zeyen, or the son of Ceyen, of the tribe of the Zeneti, a descendent of the Abd'olwates, ancient monarchs of that kingdom, but then vassals to the Almohedes. He had put himself at the head of a pretty considerable force of malcontents; but finding it still too weak to make head against that of Al Zeyed, who was in full march against him, he was forced to retire into a strong fortress, where, being ready to perish for want of provisions, he had recourse to a near relation, whom he sent under the disguise of a malecontent,

His dies, after having appointed his grandson Zeyed Arrax to succeed him.

who came on purpose to shew the besieger a way by which he might easily ascend to the top, and make himself master of the place. Zeyed was weak enough to accept of his offer; and going out to reconnoitre it, was assassinated by him at a convenient place; then the murderer fled to the castle, and acquainted his cousin with what he had done. Zeyed's death put at once an end to the dynasty, or government, of the Almohedes. The traitor Gamarazan, taking advantage of the confusion and panic which the news of it had thrown his whole army into, fell suddenly upon, and defeated them entirely. Having no enemy left to oppose him, he quickly reduced the whole Tremecenian kingdom, which he held as long as he lived, and ordered his successors for the future to exchange their old name of Abd'olwates for that of Benimeyeni, or Benizevenez.

Who is assassinated, which puts an end to the Almohedic kingdom.

Camarazan reigns in Tremecen.

About the same time the governor of Fez for the Almohedes, named Abd'allah, of the Zenetan tribe, and of the same branch of the Benimerini, likewise revolted, seized on several cities, particularly those of Robotto and Anfat, in the kingdom of Tremecen, and defeating the Almohedes, in the plains between Fez and Mequinez, forced them to retire into the kingdom of Morocco; by all which singular advantages the Benemerini became very powerful. Abd'allah, at his death, left the Fezian crown to his son, a minor, under the government of his brother Yakub, who had assisted him in all his conquests, and who, after his nephew's death, took possession of the crown, as immediate heir to it. This last assumed the title of muley cheyk, or *ancient* or *old king*, a title equivalent to that of sovereign lord; on account of his having governed the Fezian kingdom with the title of king of Mequinez during his nephew's life.

Abd'allah reigns in Fez.

Another uncle of the young king, named Mohammed Budobas, rose up in arms in the provinces of Tedha and Daminet; the former of which he yielded to the king of Fez, to obtain his assistance, and entered into a league with him. They accordingly marched their joint forces towards Morocco, where the young king Zeyed was; but upon the news of their approach, he abandoned that metropolis, which his uncle immediately entered, and took possession of it in his own name. He then dispatched one of his chief officers in pursuit of him, who overtaking him at Sequelmessa, put him to death. Budobas immediately caused himself to be proclaimed king and emir of the Almohedes; and, instead of performing his engagements with the king of Fez, declared him a traitor and rebel against

Mohammed Budobas takes Morocco.

againſt the Almohedes, from whom he had uſurped the Fezian kingdom; proteſting, that he would not ſheathe his ſword, till he had driven him out of its uſurped dominions. All this threatning ended in his total defeat, and death of the Almohedic chief, by which the kingdom of Morocco and its conquered provinces in Barbary, fell under the ſubjection of the Benimerini, and the victorious king of Fez became the head of a new dynaſty, which, in *King of Fez head of the Benemerini.* proceſs of time, reduced all the kingdoms of Tremecen, Tunis, and other inferior ſovereignties. For although ſeveral of the Almohedic governors, who had revolted under the ſame reign, were ſuffered to retain their dominions, eſpecially in the mountainous parts, thoſe of mount Atlas in particular, yet was it only on condition that they ſhould acknowlege the kings of Fez as their lords. Among thoſe we may reckon a conſiderable branch of the Muzamadine tribe, ſo called from the mount, or rather large ridge of mountains, on the Great Atlas, extending about twenty leagues in length weſtward, towards the Atlantic ocean, where they reigned a conſiderable time under their own princes, after the declenſion and abolition of the tyrannic power of the Arabs in ſeveral parts of Africa, particularly in Numidia, Libya, as well as this of Barbary, and ſtill retained their ancient name. They are a wealthy and warlike nation, and value themſelves upon their antiquity and nobility.

Among other branches deſcended from them, that of the Hentet, ſo called from the famed mount of that name, the higheſt and moſt populous of the whole Atlantic ridge, have alſo made a very conſiderable figure in hiſtory, under their own princes, on account of their wealth and power, and particularly for their brave cavalry, and the frequent wars they have ſucceſsfully waged againſt the ſharifs of Morocco; till at length theſe having become maſters of that kingdom, they were obliged to deſiſt from all farther hoſtilities, and crave their alliance and protection, in order to be confirmed by them in their inferior dignity, and ſcanty dominion. This forced alliance was made by Maleyo Idris, one of their kings, pretending to be deſcended from the Almohedes. As ſuch, he began to lay claim to the crown of Africa, which they had been poſſeſſed of before, and began to aſſume that title, though he had, till then, contented himſelf with that of king of the Mountain. He was then in poſſeſſion of the city and ſtrong fortreſs of Geman Yedid, which had been founded about two centuries before by Hentetao, of his tribe

tribe of Mirzamada, and had continued to be their chief residence ever since. He held also several other fortresses on the same mountain, advantageously situated, and watered by the river Ecifelmed, so called from the prodigious noise it makes in its rapid descent from those heights, whence running down into the spacious plain below, it expands itself in a delightful lake. To these he added the city of Temelet, a small but strong fortress, situated on an eminent part of the mountain of its name, formerly built by the same tribe, and exceedingly well peopled.

This was the situation of Muley Idris's small dominions, when the dread of the sharif's power put him upon that ill-concerted expedient of securing himself in them by the above mentioned alliance, which he soon afterwards found cause to repent. The measures he took to extricate himself out of them were no less hazardous, and likely to have proved equally, if not more, fatal to him.

This transaction, as well as the occasion of it, contains something singular and instructive; of which we hope our readers will not deem it a digression from our subject, if we subjoin a short account, as we find it related in the authors quoted in the margin [p]. It happened in the reign of the sharif Muley Hammed, by which time the Portuguese had got some considerable settlements on that coast, and particularly the strong castle of Salles, a considerable sea-port in that kingdom, the governor of which, named Nunez, ever attentive to his master's interest, and apprised of the dread Idris was in from his new ally, had found means to invite him to exchange him for that of the king of Portugal, who, he assured him, would prove a more faithful, as well as more powerful protector. The juncture was then altogether promising and favourable, inasmuch as Muley Hammed had lately made himself master of the city of Morocco, after the death of Naker Buchentuf, the Almohede, and last possessor of it, and was become by that means a more formidable neighbour; which circumstance, that governor presumed, could not fail of determining the alarmed Idris to accept of the new proffered alliance. To effect it with the greater safety and speed, he employed a Jewish merchant, who traded in those parts, to convey a letter to him from his Portuguese majesty, which, to avoid discovery, was sewn between the soles of his shoe. But the Jew, whether to a-

[p] Leo, & al. ubi supra.

void

void suspicion, or to serve some other end, took the direct road to Morocco, and not only staid some time in that capital, but ventured to appear before the sharif, and transact some private affairs with him; a circumstance which so alarmed the Henetan prince, that, upon the Jew's delivering the letter to him, he returned it to him unopened, and ordered him to carry it back to Morocco, and put it into the sharif's own hand, together with another, written by himself, in which he earnestly intreated him to have a watchful eye over the Christians, who, he was well assured were carrying on some dangerous plot against him. This precaution, which was wholly owing to his suspicion that the Jew might have discovered his correspondence with the Portuguese governor, had the desired effect; and Muley, now satisfied of his friendship and integrity, failed not to make him some grateful acknowlegements for it, whilst he turned his whole resentment on those strangers, who had with such treacherous artifices attempted to deprive him of so faithful an ally. The Jew was the first who fell a victim to his jealousy, whom suspecting to be more deeply informed of their designs, he caused to be put to the torture, which was several times repeated; and not being able to extort any confession from him, condemned him to be torn in pieces by four wild horses[q]. But as he could not penetrate farther into the mystery of this conspiracy, this fresh instance of the Portuguese ambition and policy only served to make him have a more watchful eye over them; and, at the same time, if he had really entertained any views against those of his Henetan ally, it made him set them aside, for the present at least. Idris found in him from thenceforth a friend and protector, instead of a formidable neighbour; and his successors enjoyed their small kingdom in peace for some generations, though they were, in process of time, reduced under the yoke of the sharifs, as will be more fully seen in the next chapter. Thus much may suffice for these two considerable branches of the Zeneti, inhabiting the western parts of the Atlas, under the names of Hentela and Zamadins. Other branches of the same tribe spread themselves likewise in other parts of Barbary and Africa, as in Numidia, Nubia, Libya, &c. and founded some considerable cities, with an account of which we shall not here interrupt the thread and course of our history. The Almo-

Other branches of the Zeneti.

[q] Leo, & al. ubi supra.

hedes

hedes after having made a considerable figure in the kingdom of Fez and other parts, during the space of about one hundred and seventy years, waged very cruel wars against the kings of Fez, Tunis, and Tremecen, and greatly enlarged their wealth, power, and dominions, were at length succeeded by that of the Benimerini, another, and equally eminent branch of the Zeneti; these last having held the government during the space of one hundred and seventeen years, enlarged their conquests, and enriched themselves by their frequent incursions not only into all the neighbouring kingdoms above mentioned, but even Nubia, Libya, and Numidia, were at length swallowed up by the general inundation of Mohammedism, as will be more fully seen in the sequel.

The Benimerini.

All these branches retained so much of their Arabic disposition, as to prefer the scenite and wandering life as the most noble and suitable to their origin and taste, whilst they obliged those who lived under their government to inhabit in cities and villages, to cultivate the lands and pasture grounds, to follow husbandry and breeding of cattle, and to exercise variety of such trades and manufactures as the exigencies of nature and society required. They every where spoke their original Arabic tongue, in its purity, or, at least, with very little intermixture or corruption. During that long interval, each of their sects had its doctors, fautors, and disciples, all contending with equal warmth for their particular tenets. Till the sharifs on the one hand, and the Turks on the other, having reduced the whole Barbaric tract, obliged each of them to submit to a new doctrine.

Before we close this section, it may be necessary to subjoin an account of the once famed kingdom of Telensine, or Tremecen, of which we have had frequent occasion to make mention; especially with regard to the share it hath had in the wars and other transactions with the states lately spoken of, before its reduction by, and being incorporated into that of Algiers; in all which it hath made so considerable a figure in the history of Barbary, that it might be justly deemed an inexcusable omission not to give it a place.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The History of the Kingdom of Telensine, or Tremecen.

Kingdom of Tremecen.

THIS kingdom was anciently considerable enough to be reckoned the third in rank of the Mauritania Cæsariensis. Its other name it received afterwards from its capital of Tremecen, or, as some write it, Termecen. It stretches from north to south-east, that is, from the west Mediterranean to Mount Atlas, about the length of a hundred and fifty leagues; but in breadth it is in some places about fifty, and about twenty-six or twenty-one where narrowest. On the east it hath the kingdom of Tunis, or Africa Propria, from which it is severed by two rivers, namely, the Zis and the Moluya, the former of which hath its spring-head on the Zanhaghian mountains, and running thence across the countries of Quinena, Matagara, and Releb, spreads itself into a lake, in a desert south of the territoy of Segelmessa; the latter, by a contrary course, runs from Mount Atlas across the whole country, and empties itself into the Mediterranean, near the town of Ona[a]. From thence to that of Gigel is the utmost breadth of its coast; this last being its utmost boundary on the other side, as the Numidian is on the south. The kingdom is divided into four principal provinces, whereof the first and chief bears the name of Tremecen; the second is called Tenez; the third, Algiers (which three formerly constituted the Cæsarean Mauritania); and the last is that of Buga, vulgarly called Bugia, which some geographers place in the kingdom of Tunis. These four provinces have, since the decay of the Roman empire, been possessed by the Arabs of the Zenetan tribe; next to them by the kings of Tunis and Fez; and last of all by the Turks, as will be seen in the sequel. The former in particular, who are very numerous in each, and no less stout and warlike than greedy of plunder, have proved a perpetual plague to the Turks, being advantageously seated on the mountainous parts, where they cannot be easily attacked. Besides, they are ever ready to remove their habitations into the most inaccessible parts, where they range at will, without paying any subjection

Its limits.

Its ancient provinces.

Arabs of that kingdom, their tribes and characters.

[a] Leo Afr. lib. i. Marmol. Afric. lib. v. cap. 1. Davity, Dapper, Aldretti Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 30. Ramusio Viag. vol. i. part iv. p. 59. & seq. Shaw, & al.

or

or tribute to the Tremecen princes, living mostly on the spoil of their subjects below. They are divided into five branches: viz. Berbers, Zeneti, Hoars, Zinhagians, and Azogues, all of them Mohammedans, though, for the most part, more tractable and less averse to Christians, with whom they carry on a considerable commerce, than those of the kingdom of Morocco[t]. However, the former have proved worse enemies both to this kingdom and Tunis, Fez, and others on this coast, ever since the Turks have been masters of so great a part of it, and have been ever ready to excite revolts, and join forces with their enemies.

The clime and soil of this kingdom being pretty much the same as in other parts of Barbary, that is, sandy and barren on the southern side, and more fruitful and mountainous towards the Mediterranean, we shall not need dwell on a detail of its products, which are, for the most part, the same through the whole Barbaric tract. That especially about the capital of Tremecen is little else than a continued barren plain of vast extent; so that there are but few other cities of any note in its neighbourhood; but it is far otherwise towards the south, and near the sea, where the plains, vallies, and even the mountains, yield a most agreeable verdure, plenty and variety of pasturage, fruits, and several sorts of grain; whilst the southern parts are very poorly furnished with cities and towns of any note, except the capital, and are only defended by some strong castles, dispersed at proper distances, and advantageous posts (G). The northern division has a considerable

[t] Marmol, & al. ubi supra.

(G) Amongst that number is that called by Leo, Izli, and, by Marmol, Zezil, said to have been built by the Africans, as a frontier town; but by what one may judge from the height and strength of its walls, the beauty and largeness of the square stones, more like a work of the Romans, and probably the Giva of Ptolemy, who places it in 14 deg. 30 min. of longitude, and 32 deg. 30 min. of latitude.

It is situate, like that spoken of in a former note, in a barren plain, between the desert of Angab, and the territory of Tremecen, and was formerly well inhabited and garrisoned, having some spacious fields in its neighbourhood, which produced some corn, barley, and other provisions; till being at length taken by Yusef, or Joseph, prince of the race of the Benimerini, the inhabitants were expelled. It was some time after re-inhabited by a set of religious monks, in great veneration

ſiderable number of them, eſpecially upon the coaſts. Yet both the inland and maritime parts drive a conſiderable commerce both out of the kingdom and with each other; the former with Numidia, Nigritia, and other inland parts, for ſlaves, gold-duſt, elephant's teeth, ebony, and other woods, and a great variety of gums and other commodities, exchanged with the maritime parts for their corn and other products, as well as great variety of European goods, cloths, knives, ſciſſars, razors, rings, beads, bells, and other trinkets, brought hither from Spain, France, and Italy. From Venice and Genoa a good number of merchant ſhips uſed to reſort to the two famed ports of Auran or Horan, and Marſa Al Kaſbir, till both towns were taken, and the commerce quite obſtructed by Ferdinand king of Spain, till Barbaroſſa made himſelf maſter of the Tremecenian kingdom, recovered and repaired the maritime and trading towns, and re-invited thoſe merchants to revive their commerce with his new dominions, which their fear of the Chriſtians had ſo greatly obſtructed. We ſhall not here enter into a detail and deſcription of thoſe towns, becauſe we ſhall find the moſt conſiderable of them ſtill ſtanding and flouriſhing under the dominion of the Turks, when we come to the hiſtory of the kingdom of Algiers, of which this of Tremecen is now but a part. At preſent we ſhall content ourſelves with ſingling out two of the moſt remarkable places, viz. Ned Roma and Tremecen, the former called ſo for its antiquity and likeneſs to the ancient Rome, and the other as being the metropolis of the Tremecian kingdom.

Ned Roma is ſeated on a large plain, about three leagues from the Great Atlas, and about four from the Mediterranean, much reſembling that of Rome in its ſituation, and ſome very conſiderable veſtiges of its

veneration amongſt all the Mohammedans and Arabs, inſomuch that neither the princes of Tremecen, nor even the plundering Arabs, raiſed any tribute or exactions upon them, on account of the great hoſpitality they exerciſed towards all ſtrangers, whom they liberally entertained during three days, gratis. A ſmall river that paſſes by this caſtle ſupplies them with a ſufficient quantity of water. As for their houſes, they are mere huts, built of earth, and thatched only with leaves (1).

(1) Leo African. ubi ſupra, lib. iv. cap. 4. Marmol. Afric. lib. v. cap. 5. Dapper, Grammay, & al.

ancient

ancient ſplendor ſtill remain. Its walls, which are ſtill ſtanding, appear high and loſty, built of large ſquare ſtone, ſtrongly cemented, and reared after the Roman ſtyle, the remains of ſundry other ſumptuous edifices, marble colonnades, ſepulchres, and other monuments with Roman inſcriptions, though, for the moſt part, either thrown down and lying in ruins, or terribly defaced, are ſtill ſo many evidences of its former greatneſs. Its houſes appear to have been rebuilt after the coarſer African ſtyle; ſo that it is likely the old Roman dwellings were deſtroyed either by the Vandals, or during the later wars between the kings of Tremecen and thoſe of Fez and Tunis. The adjacent fields are very pleaſant, fruitful, and well watered by a large river, deſcending from the Great Atlas, whoſe banks on both ſides are beautifully ſhaded with variety of fruit-trees, and the neighbouring mountains are likewiſe covered with various kinds of trees, one of which in particular, called by the ancients karobs, or karobies, bears a fruit of a ſweet and pleaſant taſte, of which they make a kind of bread. They raiſe great plenty of wheat and barley, abound with excellent paſturage, and breed variety of cattle. They have alſo a fine ſort of cotton growing amongſt them, of which they make ſome of the fineſt linen in all Barbary. Upon the whole, nothing appears more delightful, agreeable, and promiſing than the adjacent parts, and the remains of this old city; nor any thing more ſhocking and mean than its contents. We ſhall only add, that Ptolemy, who takes it for the ancient Salamium, places it in 12 deg. 10 min. of longitude, and 33 deg. 20 min. of latitude. Both the city and the inhabitants of the adjacent mountains are of the Zenetan tribe, and a branch of the Zanhagians[u]; they were once ſtout and warlike, and could bring twenty-five thouſand fighting men into the field; but ſince their tyrannic ſubjection to the Turks, are greatly decreaſed both in number and courage, and remarkable for little elſe than their potteries or earthen manufactures.

The city of Tremecen deſcribed.

The capital of this kingdom is the other city we are now to deſcribe. It is commonly called, by our modern geographers, Tremecen, Tremeſen, Temecen, or Tremiſen; but anciently, and according to the true Arabic orthography and pronunciation, Tlemſan, or Telemſan. It is pleaſantly ſituated, about five leagues ſouth-eaſt of the mouth of the Tefna, upon a riſing ground, below a range

[u] Marmol, Leo, & al. ſup. citat.

of

of rocky precipices, supposed by Dr. Shaw to be the Sachratain of Edrisi, from whence issue numerous springs of water, which gradually uniting together into little streams, form a pleasant variety of cascades in their approach to Telemsan. There is besides a large source of water in the heart of the city, conveyed thither by a subterranean channel from some other place; and the mountains to the southward of this ridge yield great plenty of water (H).

Plenty of water.

It is not easy to conjecture when or by whom this royal metropolis was first founded; and though we are told that there have been found among its ruins many rows of pillars, and other fragments of Roman altars, with inscriptions to the Dii Manes, and other Roman antiquities, yet most authors are of opinion, that it had but a small beginning, and did not arrive at its zenith of grandeur till after the destruction of Aresgol by the Zanhaghians, in year of the Hejra 410, of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel. Till that time it seems to have been only a small fortress, possessed, if not built, as Marmol conjectures, by the Magarean Zeneti[x]. However that be, it was known to the ancients by the name of Temesi, and Ptolemy places it under the 13th deg. 50 min. of longitude, and 33 deg. 10 min. of latitude.

The walls were, for the most part, moulded in frames, and consisted of a peculiar kind of mortar, made up of sand, lime, and small pebbles, so well tempered, that it acquired the hardness and solidity of stone. The several

x Marmol Afric. lib. v. cap 11. Leo, lib. iv. cap. 10.

(H) There is likewise on the west end of the city, a large square bason, built, we are told, after the Moorish taste, two hundred yards long, and about half as broad, on which, if we believe the tradition which goes current among the inhabitants, the Tremecenian kings were wont to take the diversion of the water, and their subjects to learn navigation. But, as Leo Africanus rightly observes, the waters of the Sachratain, which supplies it, being easily turned off their usual course, it is more likely that this bason was originally designed as a reservoir against a siege, fire, or other emergencies, as well as to refresh a great number of beautiful gardens and other plantations below it. Edrisi mentions a structure of this kind, where the fountain of Omojahia discharges itself (2).

(2) Leo, ubi supra, lib. iv. cap. 10, & alib. pass.

ſtages and removes of thoſe frames are ſtill obſervable to the eye, by which ſome of them appear to have been a hundred yards long, and a fathom in height and thickneſs. They were of a conſiderable height, and ſtrong enough to withſtand an obſtinate ſiege of thirty months, in ſpite of the vigorous aſſaults of the beſiegers, under the eye and command of their prince, Abu'l Haſſeim, king of Fez, who at length made that fatal breach in it, which occaſioned the ſurrender and ruin of the place, and the death of its valiant prince, as will be deſcribed [y].

Its ancient wards deſcribed.

Till that time Tremecen was wiſely divided into ſeveral diſtinct wards, each of an oblong figure, incloſed with its own high walls, of ſingular uſe, either to prolong a ſiege, or prevent any inſurrection, and inteſtine commotions among the citizens. We are told that two of them were ſtill ſtanding in the time of Edriſi [z]. The reſt of them had been demoliſhed by the conqueror, but from the remains Shaw computes the whole compaſs of the city to have been about four miles. After the decay of the Benimerinian family, this capital began to be repaired and inhabited afreſh. Its trade and commerce was likewiſe ſo well revived, and its merchants and citizens became ſo wealthy, that the place reſumed its priſtine grandeur, ſo far as to vie with the city of Fez in many noble ſtructures, as moſques, public ſchools, and profeſſors, particularly five colleges, ſumptuouſly built, ſome by the kings of Tremecen, and others by the kings of Fez, with variety of other buildings, as baths, hot-houſes, and ſtately urns, or caravanſeras, for the uſe of the merchants and ſtrangers. The Jews were here likewiſe very numerous, and vaſtly rich; but on ſome diſcontent, or miſdemeanor, they were all at once brought to the loweſt ſtate of miſery and contempt. This event happened ſoon after the death of king Abuhaddillah, in the year of the Hejra 923; ſince which time they have never recovered themſelves nor their credit. As for the citizens they lived in great eaſe and wealth, and had each their trades and occupations in a particular part of the city, as they have in Fez.

Public buildings.

Palace.

Without the walls, on the ſouth ſide of the city, ſtands the royal palace, built in the manner of a fortreſs, in which are the lodgings, or apartments, in great number, and of great ſtrength and beauty, accommodated with

[y] Leo, Marmol, Grammay, Ramuſio, & aliis ſupra citat.
[z] Shaw, ubi ſupra, p. 48, & ſeq.

ſtately

ſtately gardens and fountains. The place hath two ſumptuous gates, one towards the city, called Beb-gadit, the other facing the country, called Beb-el-Gied. In the neighbourhood are many beautiful villas and houſes of pleaſure, and great variety of gardens and orchards, where the richer ſort of the inhabitants ſpend great part of the ſummer, in time of peace. Theſe are alſo furniſhed with plenty of water, and ſtored with all manner of fruit-trees, particularly olives, and walnuts, from which they make plenty of oil. Vines are there likewiſe in great plenty, and furniſh the people with excellent grapes, which, being dried in the ſun, ſerve them all the year round [a]. Nothing could be more delightful than the avenues to this opulent metropolis, nor more peaceable and happy than its fatal inhabitants, till the year 1670, which was that of its laſt overthrow, when Muley Haſſan, the bey of Algiers, reduced the greateſt part of it to ruins; ſo that there was not the ſixth part it left remaining when Dr. Shaw viſited thoſe parts, about anno 1526 [b]. *Suburbs.*

The royal revenue, chiefly ariſing from the imports and exports from and to the city of Auran, where the principal cuſtom-houſe was, did not then amount to above ſix hundred thouſand crowns yearly; one moiety thereof was appropriated to the maintenance of the king's forces, and the other that of his houſhold; and if there aroſe any overplus from either, it was laid up to defray the exigencies of war [c]. The Tremecenian kings had likewiſe a conſiderable trade with the inland parts, which the Turks have taken great care to improve. *Revenue.*

Thoſe kings in general affected to imitate, if not to vie with, thoſe of Fez, of whom we ſhall give an account in a ſubſequent chapter, in the ſplendor and œconomy of their court. There was however one remarkable ſingularity in the manner of the reigning prince: he always appeared in ſuch a plain and ordinary dreſs, that he was hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from a common captain in time of war; and in travelling from any of his attendants [d].

They uſed a gold coin of baſe alloy, about the value of an Italian ducat and a quarter [e]. *Tremecenian coin.*

This kingdom was known to the Romans and Greeks, under the name of Temiſi, as part of the Mauritania Cæſarienſis, which they had ſubdued. After the de- *Hiſtory and origin of the kingdom of Tremecen.*

[a] Marmol, Leo, & al. ſupra citat. [b] Leo, ubi ſupra. Shaw, ubi ſupra. [c] Marmol, & al. ubi ſupra. [d] Leo Afric. ubi ſupra, cap. 2. [e] Aldretti Ant. ubi ſupra.

cline of their empire, it may be reasonably supposed that it underwent the same fate with the other parts of Barbary, and groaned for a long while under the tyranny of the Arabian khalifs and their cheyks; till their yoke becoming intolerable, the Tremecinians were forced to shake it off, and to form, like the rest, a new government, or dynasty of their own, from which sprang that vast number and variety, which flourished in their turns, in the several parts of Barbary and Africa, as far as Nubia, Libya, and Numidia.

Great state and splendor of its kings.

The Zeneti, of the branch of the Magrawas, or Magroas, became the first founders of this government. They called themselves Beni Abd'ulguad, and were esteemed the most ancient and considerable of all the Barbary princes, living in the greatest magnificence and splendor; and their successors were chosen from among the highest nobility. The prince's revenue, in spite of all their great show and state, was so small at first, that they were obliged to have recourse to the expedient of debasing the coin occasionally. They found means, however, to augment it by degrees by their commerce with Europeans and Africans, to become very wealthy and powerful, and to hold the reins of that kingdom during the space of three hundred years, without any considerable alteration; though infested by the upstart Almoravides and Almohedes successively, both which, in their turns, made them tributary, as we have seen in the foregoing section. Yet under all these disasters, they seldom failed of recovering their liberty and importance.

Ghamrazen recovers the crown.

One of the most remarkable of these revolutions happened in the time of one Ghamrazen, or, Gamazaz, a man of valour, of the family of the Beni-zejens, who headed a revolt against the Almohedes, towards the decline of their government, and recovered the kingdom of Tremecen out of their hands, and left it to a series of successors, who took upon them the name of Beni-zejens, instead of the old appellation of Abd'allades, and reigned near three hundred and eighty years, according to Leo and Grammay[f]. However, they were forced, during the latter end of that period, to sustain several very fierce wars against the kings of Fez, who had once driven them out of the greatest part of their dominions, making some tributary, obliging others to flee for refuge among the barren and inhospitable mountains, and holding the rest un-

[f] Lib. iv. cap. 1.

der

der a severe subjection. They were no less harrassed by the kings of Tunis, with whom they fought several unsuccessful battles, and endured many obstinate sieges in their capital and other fortresses, besides other dreadful ravages through the whole extent of their country.

But the most dreadful siege this capital of Tremecen underwent was under Yusef, king of Fez, which lasted seven years without interruption: that prince built a strong fort on the east side of the town, and reduced it to such distress and want, that the citizens began to labour under an intolerable famine. In this emergency, they agreed to apply to the king in a body, and, in the most pathetic terms, to beseech him to have compassion on their distress, and not to deliver them up to the dreadful effects of a general assault, after having sustained this obstinate siege in his defence. The king, who was then at supper, upon a piece of horse-flesh, stewed with barley, admitting them to his presence, and pointing to his homely fare, plainly shewed them how little better his condition was than that of the meanest among them. This practical remonstrance allayed their clamours for the present: he afterwards, in a public harangue, exhorted them in the strongest terms, to consider how much more noble and glorious it was to die sword in hand, in defence of their country, than to submit to a life of the basest and most ignominious slavery. This alternative the generous prince displayed in such lively and affecting colours, that they unanimously resolved to sally out upon the enemy next day, and either conquer or die. Preparations were made with all possible diligence for executing this noble resolution: however, before the wished-for morning appeared, they were surprised with the sudden news of a more effectual deliverance. The Fezian king was murdered that very night by one of his own subjects; a circumstance which was no sooner known in the city than the inhabitants, headed by their king, made a furious sally; they fell upon the enemy, then in the utmost confusion and disorder, killed vast numbers, and totally dispersed the rest; their camp, with all its plenty and variety of provisions, as well as immense store of rich plunder, fell into the hands of the half-starved Termecenians, and helped to repair the damages they had received during that long and dreadful siege [g].

Tremecen besieged.

About forty years after this event, Abu'l Hassan, the fourth king of Fez, of the Marinian family, built a fortress

[g] Leo, Marmol, Grammay, & al. plur.

two miles weſtward of Tremecen, the ſiege of which he undertook, and continued thirty months, during which it was defended with great valour and obſtinacy: at length, the beſiegers entered the place by ſcalade, and made a terrible ſlaughter. They carried the unfortunate king to Fez, where he was murdered, and his body caſt among the common filth of the city, by order of his inhuman conqueror [h].

King of Tremecen baſely murdered.

This cataſtrophe did not, however, prevent the Tremecenian crown from continuing in the ſame family about one hundred and twenty years, without any conſiderable alteration, excepting that they were conſtrained for a ſhort ſpace to become tributary to Abu-Ferez, king of Tunis, and to his ſon Hutman; but the tribute was withdrawn on the demiſe of the latter. They continued in the quiet poſſeſſion of their dominions, and of a moſt advantageous commerce with the Genoeſe and Venetians, who yearly reſorted with their merchant-ſhips to the two conſiderable ſea-port towns of Auran and Marſaelquebir, till the time of Ferdinand king of Spain, in the reign of Abu-Chemen; when the Tremecenians rebelled, and drove him out of his dominions. This laſt was no better than an uſurper, who had revolted from his uncle Abu-zeijen, and kept him confined ſeveral years; but, upon the expulſion of the traitor, he was again reſtored to the crown. He did not, however, enjoy his kingdom long before he was ſlain by the Turkiſh pirate Barbaroſſa, who had, by this time, made himſelf maſter of this kingdom, as we ſhall ſee more fully in our hiſtory of Algiers; upon which Abu-Chemen reſolved to make a ſecond effort to wreſt it out of his hands; but as he had neither power nor intereſt ſufficient for ſuch a bold enterprize, he applied to the emperor Charles V. for aſſiſtance, offering to become his vaſſal and tributary, provided he would re-eſtabliſh him on the throne. The emperor liſtened to this propoſal, and furniſhed him with men and money for that purpoſe, ſo that he was ſoon put in a condition to attack Barbaroſſa, and to drive him out of his new conqueſt; after which, he ſeverely revenged himſelf on ſuch of the Tremecenians as had been acceſſary to his expulſion. He likewiſe gratified the Spaniſh ſoldiers who had aſſiſted him, ſent their officers home laden with marks of his gratitude and generoſity, and allowed the emperor a large yearly revenue as long as he lived; but after his death, his brother Abd'alla, who ſuc-

[h] Leo, Grammay, Marmol, Aldretti, & al.

ceeded

ceeded him, relying on the power and friendſhip of the Turkiſh ſoltan, Solyman, refuſed to continue that tribute: he kept quiet poſſeſſion of it till the year 1526, when it was again reconquered by the Turkiſh Algerines, and has continued in their hands ever ſince.

CHAP. LIX.

Modern Hiſtory of the Empire of Morocco and Fez.

SECT. I.

Situation, Extent, Climate, Animals, Soil, Inhabitants, Rivers, Mountains, Cities, Government, &c. of the Empire.

THESE two kingdoms, which now compoſe one empire, were once part of the ancient Mauritania, and are ſituate on the moſt weſtern borders of Barbary, being bounded on that ſide by the ocean; on the eaſt, by the river Mulvya, which parts them from Algiers; on the north, by the Mediterranean; and on the ſouth by the great Atlas, or rather by the river Sus, which divides Morocco from the province of Darhas, and by part of the kingdom of Tafilet. The whole empire extends from 28 to 36 deg. of north latitude, and from the 4th to the 9th deg. of weſt longitude from London. Its greateſt length is from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, amounting to above five hundred and ninety miles; in breadth about two hundred and ſixty, according to the moſt recent obſervations, where broadeſt; but not above half of that where narroweſt.

The empire of Morocco, &c.

Situation.

Extent.

Each of theſe kingdoms retains ſtill its old name, though the empire and emperors are chiefly called by that of Morocco, or, as the Spaniards write it, Marruecos, as the moſt conſiderable of the two. Each of them is likewiſe divided into inferior provinces, of which Morocco contains ſeven, viz. Hea, Sus, Geſula, Morocco Proper, Ducala, Eſcura, and Telda; and Fez, ſeven more, viz. Azgar, Chaous, Errif, Fez Proper, Garet, Hazbat, and Temeſine.

mesine [b]. Some only divide the whole empire into three principal provinces, viz. Morocco, Fez, and Sus; and others again enlarge its boundaries beyond the last-named province southward, as far as the river Niger, which would give it near one thousand two hundred miles in length from north to south; but if any of the sharifs of Morocco ever extended their dominions so far, all that lies beyond the river Sus is so far desart and barren, that it hardly deserves mention, especially as it is inhabited by wandering Arabs, who acknowlege no submission to any but their own cheyks [c].

Climate. The climate is every where hot, yet is generally healthier than Algiers or Tunis, being pleasantly diversified by mountains and plains, and cooled by the sea breezes, especially on the west, from the Atlantic ocean: so that it is reckoned much more temperate than one would imagine it from its situation. The great mount Atlas, which surrounds it on the south like a crescent, hath its tops covered with snow a great part of the year; and even in the vallies it freezes sometimes very hard in the night, during the winter months, but the next day's sun commonly melts it away; so that there is scarcely any to be seen by noon-tide. Their rainy season usually begins about October; and if it continue too long in the summer, it seldom fails of producing pestilential fevers: the north-west winds, which begin to blow about March, prove sometimes so sharp and violent, as to affect the lungs, nerves, and limbs of the natives, as well as their fruits, and other products of the earth. In other respects they enjoy a clear and serene sky, and wholesome air, as they have but very few woods to occasion a stagnation; and those they have are in some measure destitute of timber trees. The country in general is well watered with springs, and very considerable rivers; most of the latter have their source on mount Atlas, and empty themselves either in the Atlantic ocean, or in the Mediterranean, after a course of some hundred miles [d]. Those mountains likewise abound in mines of sundry metals, especially copper, breed vast quantities of black cattle, as well as of horses, mules, and asses.

Springs and rivers.

Horses and horsemen. This country hath been always famous for its horses; which, though small in size, make up that defect by their fine shape, fleetness, and peculiar docility. The inhabit-

[b] Vide Leo Afric. lib. ii. cap. 1, & seq. Grammay, lib. ix. cap. 2, & seq. Marmol. lib. iii. cap. 1, & seq. Davity, Dapper, Baudrand, & al. [c] Vide auct. sup. citat. [d] Idem, ibid.

ants

ants have been greatly celebrated for their dexterity in breaking, training, and riding of them, ever since the time of the Romans; and even to this day are allowed to excel all nations, and to be, in some measure, inimitable, in this kind of culture. Dromedaries and camels abound in this country, and vastly exceed those of Asia; for they will travel ten days without water, or any other sustenance, and bear each a burden of eight or nine hundred weight[e].

The lands in general are so good, that, if they were properly cultivated, they would yield most of the products of other parts of the world. They are commonly computed to be capable of producing one hundred times more than the inhabitants consume, and, where duly cultivated, will yield two or three crops in a year. yet they lie waste, and without proprietors every where, except three or four leagues about their towns and cities, through the cruel exactions of the government, and the frequent inroads of the plundering Arabs. The northern parts, however, are most productive of corn, oil, wine, fruits of all sorts, wax, honey, silk, and the finest wool; and the southern of dates, sugar, cotton, indigo, ginger, and a variety of gums. *Good soil.*

The inhabitants of this empire are, like those of Algiers and Tunis, a mixture of, 1. Berebers, or, as they style themselves, the ancient natives, who still follow their old customs, language, and way of living in huts on the mountainous parts, for the sake of enjoying their liberty; so that these have never been entirely subdued. 2. Arabs, who range from place to place with their numberless herds, cultivate the plains, sow corn and other grain on the most fruitful spots, their wealth consisting in their cattle, horses, and grain. These are no less impatient of all foreign yoke; and, though they pay a kind of tribute, live under cheyks of their own race and chusing. Some of their tribes, however, live rather upon plunder than industry, and cannot be easily suppressed, as they reside in some of the most inaccessible parts, from which they make their excursions on the low lands, against the caravans and other travellers. 3 The Moors, who are mostly the descendants of those who were driven out of Spain; and, though poor and oppressed, are very numerous, especially along the sea-coasts, though they have no trading vessels of their own, nor drive any immediate commerce with fo- *Berebers.* *Arabs.* *Moors.*

[e] De his vide Leo Afric. lib. ix. p. 290, *&* seq.

reign

reign nations. These are reckoned covetous and superstitious to a great degree, great cheats, jealous, vindictive, and treacherous, yet inferior to the Jews in craftiness and villainy. These, constituting the fourth class of inhabitants, are, for the most part, such as were obliged to fly out of Spain and Portugal; and, though the greatest rogues under the sun, are yet suffered to be the chief traders, factors, and bankers, in the realm; and by their fraudulent dealings, make themselves ample amends for the grievous taxes and imposts with which they are loaded; but the worst of all are, 5. The renegadoes, who, though not so numerous in these parts as in Algiers and Tunis, yet make a distinct class of people, though hardly less detested by the rest of the inhabitants, than they are by the Christians; for that reason, though not employed like the slaves in the lowest and vilest works, yet are they not exempt from hard service, such as guarding the gates of the royal palaces and fortified places, and such other employments as they are fit for. Some of them are likewise distributed among the governors of the provinces, to be by them made use of as occasion offers. We are even told by M. St. Olon, that, in time of war, they place them in great numbers in the front of the battle, where they run the risque of being cut in pieces if they are observed to flinch. 6. The slaves make another considerable class, being here very numerous, and much more inhumanly treated than those of Tunis or Algiers, whose thraldom and misery is a state of rest and happiness, compared to that of those in the Morocco dominions. These all belong to the king, yet are treated far worse in every shape than in any other country, their labour being of the hardest and vilest kind, and almost without intermission, their allowance being a pound cake of coarse barley bread per day for each, sodden in a little oil, which yet they are often forced to cram into their mouths with one hand, while the other is employed in some grievous drudgery. Their lodging at night is a subterraneous dungeon, into which they go down by a rope ladder, which is afterwards drawn up, and the mouth of the prison is fastened with an iron grate. Their dress consists of a long coarse woollen coat, with a hood, which serves them for a cap, shirt, coat, and breeches. To crown their misery, they are harnessed in carts, with mules and asses, and unmercifully lashed for every the least inadvertency, or intermission of their labour. These barbarians take a singular pleasure, and even make a merit in tormenting those unhappy wretches: yet they ex-

Jews.

Renegadoes, ill treated by the natives.

Slaves.

exempt those that are married from hard labour, the women, on account of their breeding and nursing a new brood of slaves, and their husbands, probably, for the sake of propagating the species; but neither the one nor the other are fed, clothed, or lodged better than the rest. Some of them are moreover permitted to make brandy, the materials for which the Jews furnish them with, and pay a tax for it to the emperor, who is made to believe that the Europeans would lose all their vigour and ingenuity, if they were not revived by that liquor.

There is another race of Blackamoors that bears the greatest sway, and makes the noblest figure in all those dominions, especially since Muley Ishmael obtained the government of them, though in all respects they are no less exposed to that tyrannic government, and even more to the avarice, jealousy, and cruelty of a sovereign, merely on account of the wealth and privileges they enjoy under him; a danger which the rest can more effectually ward off, by concealing the little they have, and letting nothing appear among them but poverty and distress [f].

Rivers. We have formerly given some account of the principal rivers of this country, and shall now only supply what is wanting there in the description, or omitted in the enumeration. We begin with the Mulwyah, Molucha, Mulvia, but more properly Mullooyah, which divides the kingdom of Fez from that of Algiers. It springs from the foot of mount Atlas, in the province of Chaus, runs through the desert between those of Garret and Angued; then winding round the mountain of the Benizeti, falls into the Mediterranean, near the town of Cassaca [g]. Taga, by the ancients Talmuda, Tamuda, and Tanuda, springs from the same mount, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean, but much nearer to the streights of Gibraltar, to the Eastward of the promontory of Gebba. These two are the only rivers of note that fall into that sea; and the last is only remarkable for a city of its name, built on the banks of it, supposed by Dupin to be the Tanudajensis Episcopatus, under the jurisdiction of Carthage.

Mullooyah.

Taga.

Those that fall into the Atlantic are the Sebou, Cebu, or Subro, which runs from mount Atlas through the provinces of Fez and Asgar, and in its course cuts its way through two steep rocks of a prodigious height, near the

Cebu.

[f] Leo African. lib. ix. p. 190, & seq. vide & Hist. of Morocco, 1750. p. 363, & seq. [g] Marmol, lib. iv. cap. 96. Leo, lib. ix. Davity, Dapper, & al.

mountain

mountain of Beni-yazga, and falls into that sea near Mamor, a city destroyed by Almanzor, about twenty miles north of Salee. The mountaineers convey themselves from one side of this dreadful chasm to the other, by seating themselves in a strong basket, that runs by a pulley along a stout cable, which is fastened at both ends to two beams fixed in the rock, and is drawn by the people on the opposite side; so that, if the basket or any of the tackle chance to break, as it hath sometimes done, by the weight of the passengers, they fall into the river from a height of above one thousand five hundred fathom [h]. This river, which Marmol styles the largest in all Mauritania, abounds with excellent fish, the farm of which brings in to the emperor above twenty thousand ducats.

Ommirabih. The next in rank is the Ommirabih, or Ammirabea, corruptly Marbea and Umarabea. It hath its spring-head on mount Magrau, one of the heads of the Atlas, in the province of Tedlez, near the confines of Fez, whence it runs through the plains of Adachson, where it hath a beautiful bridge built by Abu'l Haschen, the fourth monarch of the branch of the Benimerini; thence winding southwards, it waters the spacious plains between Dukala and Temesena, after having received the Dernu and Niger, as Marmol calls it, or, according to Leo and Sanson, the Quadel or Huedel-abid, that is, *the River of Servants*, from thence it widens considerably in its approach to the ocean, into which it discharges itself, and forms a capacious bay, on the east side of Azamor. This river is fordable neither in summer nor winter, so that the inhabitants are forced to ferry their effects over by the help of baskets, fastened to leathern pontons, or over rafters. Its fish not only furnishes all that country, but is exported to Spain and Portugal [i].

Tensift. The Tensift is deep and large, springing from the heights of the Atlas, near the town of Animmey, or rather Hanim-mey; it runs through the provinces of Morocco and Dukala, and enters the ocean near the port of Saffi. It receives a considerable number of other rivers in its course, the most noted of which are the Gicselmel Agmed, and Hued Nesus, or Nessis, which have their spring near the same mountain; and, having watered the fertile plains of Morocco, fall into the Tensift. This last, though, for the most part, very deep, is yet fordable in

h Leo, lib. ix. Marmol, lib. iv. cap. 127, & al. i Id. ibid. Davity, Dapper, Boulet, & al.

many

many places, during the ſummer ſeaſon, and hath, in the neighbourhood of Morocco, a moſt ſtately ſtone bridge, of fifteen arches, built by the great Almanzor, which is juſtly eſteemed one of the nobleſt ſtructures in all Africa; but three of theſe arches were demoliſhed by Abu Dubu, one of the laſt kings of the Almohede race, to prevent his rival from following him over it, and have never been rebuilt. The Tenſiſt parts the provinces of Dukala and Hea, and is ſuppoſed to be the Phut of Ptolemy, who places the city of Aſama at the mouth of it.

The Sus. The laſt river of note in this empire is the Sus, which gives its name to the province it waters in its courſe from the Atlas to the Atlantic ocean, and is the ſouthern boundary that divides it from the province of Darha. This river being very large, is, by the inhabitants, cut into a vaſt number of channels, which renders the province one of the moſt fruitful, though the moſt ſouthern of all. Its banks are variegated with rich corn and paſture lands, gardens and orchards; it turns a great number of ſugar-mills, ſo that the inhabitants of this province are very numerous and wealthy, and live much more comfortably than thoſe of Hea, eſpecially ſuch as live in the towns, and are employed in the ſugar manufacture. Moſt geographers take the Sus to be the Una of Ptolemy, who places it in the 8th deg. of longitude and 28 deg. 30 min. of latitude. It is commonly full and rapid, and often overflows the low lands in winter, but in ſummer is both ſhallow and narrow [k].

Hued Agmed. Beſides theſe ſix principal rivers, there is a prodigious number of others that fall into them, ſome of which are alſo cut into a variety of channels, and greatly enrich the lands on both ſides, but have nothing elſe remarkable, if we except that of Hued Agmed, which hath its fountain-head on the mountain of its name, and whoſe water is always clear. It waters the territory of the city that bears its name, once the capital and ſeat of the empire, about eight leagues eaſt of Morocco. It runs through ſome fertile tracts, quite to that metropolis; afterwards ſinks underground for ſome ſpace, and then riſes again, and falls at laſt into the Tenſiſt [l].

Mountains. With regard to the mountains of this empire, the great Atlas ſurrounds it on the ſouth, in the form of a creſcent,

[k] Leo, lib. ii. & ix. Marmol, lib. iii. cap. 20. Davity, Dapper, & Grammay, lib. ix. cap. 2, & ſeq. [l] Iid. ibid. Grammay, lib. ix. cap. 2.

and

and divides its dominions from the province of Darah, or, in a larger sense, divides Barbary from Biledulgerid. This large chain, stretching from the city of Messa on the Atlantic ocean, in 9 deg. 30 min. of west longitude, and 30 deg. 15 min. of latitude, quite across Barbary, to mount Meys, in the desert of Barca, about eighty leagues west of Alexandria, is called by the natives Ayduacal, but changes its name often, according to the multitude of territories it runs through, and the vast chasms of plains and vallies by which it is intersected. It is called the Great Atlas, in contradistinction to another ridge, styled the Little Atlas, which extends along the Barbary coasts, from the streights of Gibraltar quite to the district of Bona, in the kingdom of Algiers, and is, by the natives, called Erriff. Both chains being of such a vast height, and, for the most part of the year, so covered with snow, as to be seen at a great distance off at sea, are called by the Spaniards, Montes Claros, or *Bright Mountains*, and by the natives, formerly, Dyris, and Adyris, according to Strabo, who hath probably given that Greek termination to the Phœnician Dyrim and Adyrim, which, in that language, signifies any thing that is mighty [m].

Great and Lesser Atlas.

The Great Atlas, though running through so warm a climate, is, nevertheless, in many parts, uninhabitable, either through their extreme height and coldness, their ruggedness and inaccessibility, or the vast forests which cover the eminences, and shade and darken the vallies below. The highest and most difficult of access are those which run along the confines of the kingdom of Tremecen, and the coldest those that bound the dominions of Morocco. As to the generality of the rest, they enjoy a much kinder climate, and are not only inhabited by various tribes of Berebers, Arabs, and other African people, but, in many places, well cultivated and fertilized, and a number of towns and villages dispersed in them, well inhabited, and stored with abundance of cattle; though in many of these they are obliged not only to retire into their caverns all the winter season, which is there very long, but to take in with them all their numerous herds, which would otherwise perish with excessive cold (E). But as soon

m See Bochart Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 13. Shaw's Travels, p. 7.

(E) The most considerable rivers that spring from mount Atlas, are the, 1. Sus; 2. Tensist; 3. Tecevino; 4. Hued el Abid; 5. Burregreg; 6. Bekth; 7. Sabu; 8. Lucus; 9. Melulo;

ſoon as the ſnow begins to melt, theſe mountains yield ſuch plenty of herbage, beſides good barley and other grain, that they appear quite covered again with men and cattle. In all theſe parts they can hardly be ſaid to have any more than two ſeaſons; the former of which begins about October, at which time the ſnow begins to fall, and force them into their gloomy retreats till the month of April, when a gradual thaw diſcovers the graſs, barley, and other herbage, which had grown up under the ſnow [n].

Chief cities of the empire.

But, between theſe cold eminences, let us take a view of their cities, thoſe at leaſt, in every province, that contain any thing worth notice: many have nothing elſe to preſent but ſome few melancholy monuments of their ancient ſplendor, and theſe moſtly deſtroyed by time, wars, and Mohammedan fury, and half-buried in the common ruins. We begin with the capital, from which the whole empire now hath its name.

Morocco.

Morocco, by its pleaſant ſituation, and the number and variety of its noble edifices, may be juſtly eſteemed the richeſt and moſt conſiderable city in all Africa, though much ſunk from its priſtine grandeur, both with reſpect to the number of its houſes and inhabitants, and the magnificence of its palaces and other public ſtructures (H).

[n] Leo African. lib. i. Grammay, lib. i. cap 2. Marmol, lib. i. cap. 7, & 8. Sanut, Davity, Dapper, Shaw's Travels, p. 18. & alib. paſſ.

10; 10. Melucan; 11. Mulowyah, or Mulvya; 12. Zoz; 13. Tefn; 14 Mina; 15. Kelef; 16. Hued Jaer; 17. Hued el Quibir; 18. Suf Jemar; 19. Yadok; 20. Hued yl Barbar; 21. Megerad; 22. Magro (1).

(H) The founder of Morocco is ſuppoſed to have been the famed Abu Techiſien, and his warlike ſon Joſeph, the finiſher of it, after the many ſignal victories which he gained in Spain, whence he brought thirty thouſand ſlaves, whom he employed in ſurrounding it with high walls, twelve miles in circumference. It is affirmed to have contained a hundred thouſand houſes, twenty-four ſtately gates, and a vaſt number of palaces, moſques, and other magnificent buildings, many of which have been deſtroyed by civil wars, or left to go to ruin. So that it comes far ſhort now of what it was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, notwithſtanding the new buildings and other ornaments which have been added to it ſince by many of the ſharifs (2).

(1) Sanut Intr. Leo Afr lib. i. Marmol, lib. i. cap. 7, & 8. Davity, Dapper, & al. (2) Conf. Leo, lib. ii. Grammay, lib. ix. cap. 1. Marmol, lib. iii. cap. 40. Sanut, Davity, Dapper, &c.

It

It is conveniently ſeated between two rivers, the Nephtis and the Agmed, and upon that of the Tenſiſt, in a ſpacious plain, reckoned above fifty miles in length, about ſixteen north of Mount Atlas, a hundred and ſeventy from the Atlantic ocean, and near the ſame ſpot where Ptolemy places the ancient Boccanum Hemerum. The city is encompaſſed with very high ſtone walls, the cement of which reſiſts the force of the pick-ax, and will even ſtrike fire; inſomuch that, though it hath undergone frequent and obſtinate ſieges, and been often plundered and damaged within and without, there is not the leaſt token of a breach to be ſeen in them. They are flanked with ſtrong and lofty towers, baſtions, and other bulwarks, and ſurrounded with a wide and deep ditch. The gates are ſtill twenty-four in number, and retain ſome tokens of their priſtine ſtrength and beauty. The houſes are dwindled from a hundred thouſand to leſs than one-third of that number, the reſt lying now waſte, or turned into gardens, orchards, and corn-fields, and many of the noble ſtructures that adorned it, either deſtroyed or gone to ruin. However, there remain in the part which is inhabited many ſtately buildings, particularly the royal palace, three magnificent moſques, ſome few baths and hoſpitals[a] (1).

Walls, towers, &c.

The caſile and imperial palace.

The Al Caſſava, or Michowart, comprehending the imperial palace, is a large fortreſs on the ſouth ſide of the city, capable of containing above four thouſand houſes. The walls that ſurround it are high and ſtrong, flanked with lofty towers, baſtions, and other works, and ſurrounded with a good ditch. It hath only two gates, one to the ſouth, facing the adjacent country, and the other

[a] Leo, lib. ii. Grammay, lib. ix. cap. 1. Marmol. lib. iii. cap. 40. Davity, Dapper, & al.

(1) Marmol mentions a ſtrange inſcription which he ſaw over a tomb, without one of the gates of the city, which runs thus: "Here lieth Haly, the ſon of Attia, who commanded a hundred thouſand men, had ten thouſand horſes, and cauſed a hundred and one wells to be digged in one day, to ſupply them with water. I married a hundred maidens, was victorious and faithful, and one of the twenty-four generals of Al Manzor. I ended my life in my fortieth year. Let him that readeth this epitaph pray to God to forgive me (2)."

(2) Marmol, lib. iii. cap. 40.

on

on the north, leading to the city; both of them very grand, and guarded by a company of soldiers. This gate faces a strait handsome street, at the end of which, in the center of a spacious court, stands the magnificent mosque, built by Abdalmumen, king of the Almohedes; which, they tell us, being too low for its bulk, was raised fifty cubits higher by his grandson Al Manzor, who also built the great tower, which, for height and beauty, is only to be equalled by those of Rabat, in the kingdom of Tremecen and of Seville, in Spain, which were the works of the same architect. This noble building was moreover embellished with sculpture in jasper, marble, and other costly stone, which, together with the stately gates of the cathedral of Seville, covered with bass-relievo work in brass, that conqueror caused to be brought from Spain, by way of trophies, to enrich this new fabric. On the top of the tower were fixed four large balls of copper, plated so thick with gold, that they were supposed to be all of that rich metal: these were of different sizes, the largest capable of containing eight sacks of wheat, all the four together weighing seven hundred pounds. Concerning these balls many superstitious notions were entertained by the people, who believed them sacred; but the late Muley Ishmael made no scruple to take them down, and convey them into his treasury [b].

Golden balls.

Under this large mosque is a deep vault of the same length and breadth with the building, in which is reposited an immense quantity of corn belonging to the emperors; but it was at first designed for a capacious cistern, to receive the rain water which fell upon the covering, and was conveyed into it by pipes of lead. The battlements of the tower are of such an uncommon height, that a man cannot look down without being dizzy; and yet from thence arises a spire seventy feet high, on the top of which the balls were fixed. The royal apartments, the seraglios for the sharif's wives and concubines, the state-chambers, halls of audience, and the galleries leading from one to the other are splendid and lofty; the pillars, mouldings, cielings, and ornaments, all shining with gold, and the furniture answerable.

Large cistern.

The gardens within exhibit uncommon magnificence; being adorned with terraces, fountains, fish-ponds, shady pavilions, great variety of fruit and forest-trees, tufted

Gardens.

[b] Dieg. de Torres Relat. de los Xarifs. Boulet, & al. sup. citat.

groves and verdant lawns. But, in the midst of all this splendor, one sees other noble buildings, such as palaces, colleges, baths, hospitals, halls, and other ancient edifices, in ruins; about four hundred aqueducts, some broken down, others tottering, and all of them shamefully neglected. The houses of the rich and noble are indeed built of stone, but much out of repair, and stand at a distance from each other; whilst the chasms between are filled up either with mud houses for the meaner sort, with kitchen gardens and orchards, or with old ruins and houses uninhabited. This is the present state of that once opulent metropolis, which in Leo's, and even Grammay's time, contained no less than forty-five wide spacious streets, intersecting each other at right angles, finely built, and well inhabited. All these dismal dilapidations are owing to the frequent wars it hath been exposed to, the change of sovereigns it hath undergone, but most of all to the tyrannic government it hath groaned under ever since it fell into the hands of the sharifs [c].

At a small distance from the palace, stands the quarter of the Jews, inclosed within its own walls, having only one gate, which is guarded by the Moors. Mouquet tells us, that in his time there were at least four thousand of them that lived within that precinct, and paid a certain tribute to the government. The foreign agents, and even ambassadors, chuse to live in that place rather than in any part of the city. As for the rest of the Christian merchants, they commonly live near the custom-house, which stands about three miles distant from the palace. The Jews have always been highly taxed for their liberty of religion and trading; in spite of which burthens many of them are very rich, they being the only agents, brokers, money-changers, and bankers in the empire; and there is no doubt but the number of them is greatly increased since that author wrote. But it is, however, their constant policy in all these despotic governments, to make the meanest appearance in their dress and houses, to avoid being still more oppressed; and well may they do so, when the natural subjects are obliged to practise the same expedient, for fear of becoming a prey to those rapacious monarchs, or their ministers. Hence the miserable appearance that the houses of the middling and common people make in all the parts of the city that are still inhabited. As for those of the alcaydes, nobles, military officers, and cour-

Meanness of people's houses.

[c] Conf. Leo, Grammay, & al. sup. citat.

tiers,

tiers, they are lofty, ſtrong, well built, and ſurrounded with ſtout walls, and flat on the top, with a turret in the middle, where they commonly ſpend the evening in freſco, after the African manner. The river Tenſiſt runs through the city, and hath a handſome bridge over it; on its banks are a variety of mills turned by it for divers purpoſes, and from it is conveyed a ſufficient quantity of water into all the houſes and gardens, to ſerve their neceſſities. Of the twenty-four gates this city formerly had, there are not now above five or ſix in uſe, guarded by a few miſerable Moors; whilſt the inhabitants, reduced to about twenty-five thouſand, occupy but one or two quarters of the place, which lie between the gate of Dukela and that of Zoko, the one facing the ſouth, and the other the north; all the reſt being either turned into gardens and orchands, or, which is worſe, into a wilderneſs [d].

Fez. Fez, the next in dignity, as being the capital of the once powerful kingdom of its name, is divided into the old and new city. The firſt is the moſt worthy of notice, computed near nine miles in circuit, not only the largeſt, but the moſt populous, wealthy, and beſt governed in all Africa. The immenſe riches of all ſorts which the Moors brought hither from Spain, contributed not a little to reſtore her to her priſtine greatneſs, after a long ſeries of deſtructive wars had reduced her to the loweſt ebb. The great concourſe of ſcholars who come from all parts of Africa to ſtudy the Mohammedan law, hath helped at once to augment the opulence as well as the number of her inhabitants; to which if we add, that it is the center of commerce in this empire, our readers will not wonder at its ſo far eclipſing its rival of Morocco. Old Fez ſtands on the declivity of two mountains, and the valley that lies between them, is ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall of ſquare ſtone, flanked with ſtately towers. The houſes are ſquare, terraced on the top, and without any windows fronting the ſtreets. Thoſe of the great and wealthy, as well the colleges, hoſpitals, moſques, cloiſters, and baths, have ſpacious courts, adorned with ſumptuous galleries, fountains, baſons of fine marble, and fiſh-ponds, ſhaded with lemon and orange-trees, which are loaded with fruit all the year; all which are plentifully ſupplied with water from the river Fez, which here divides itſelf into ſix *River Fez.* branches, and turns about four hundred mills.

D De Torres Relat. 27. vide & Davity, Mouquet, Dapper, & al. ſup. citat.

The city hath seven stately gates, but no suburbs. The streets are narrow, but mostly strait, and are shut up at night each with its own gates. Most of the houses have turrets on the top, in which the women have neat apartments, and solace themselves with the fresh air and the fine prospect of the city and country. The river here hath no less than two hundred and fifty stone bridges over it, some of them very beautiful and grand.

Mosques. The mosques are computed to amount to five hundred, fifty of which are reckoned of the first rank. Among those there is one that exceeds all the rest: it is called the Caruvin, and is affirmed to be near a mile and a half in compass, including the college and cloister belonging to it. It hath thirty stately gates, a roof one hundred and fifty cubits long, and eighty in breadth. The minaret, or tower, is of a stupendous height, supported in its length by thirty, and in its breadth by twenty pillars. The body of the roof is divided into seventeen arches, and the whole supported by fifteen hundred pillars of white marble. Every arch hath lamps burning in it of a large size, and curiously wrought, particularly that which hangs over the Alfaki's desk, which is of a prodigious size, surrounded with a hundred and fifty smaller, all finely cast in brass. They reckon four hundred cisterns in the cloister, to which the people repair to make their usual ablutions before prayer, and forty-two galleries, where they keep the sacred utensils belonging to the mosque. *College.* Within the cincture of the mosque is a spacious college, in which divinity, philosophy, and other sciences are taught by their learned men, the chief of whom is chosen president over the rest, and raised to the dignity of grand mufti. In this college is likewise one of the most valuable and largest libraries in all Africa [e].

Their other public buildings are very numerous, spacious, and stately; the magazines and warehouses of the merchants are plentifully furnished with all sorts of merchandizes, both domestic and foreign. There are no less two hundred inns, both large and beautiful, for the entertainment of strangers, which pay a certain tribute to the government for their licence (L). Excepting those

[e] Leo African. lib. iii. Grammay, lib. x. cap. 1. Marmol, lib. iv. cap. 5. & 22. D. Torres, Davity, Dapper, & al.

(L) Braithwait, who saw this city in the year 1727, says all these descriptions are greatly exaggerated.

which

which are frequented by the Christians, all the rest are infamous brothels, in which the most unnatural scenes are acted, not only with impunity, but publicly; insomuch that the masters of them are permitted not only to entertain a number of catamites for the use of their customers, but even to stand before their doors, or rove about the streets, some in women's cloaths, to entice people, by their effeminate voice and lewd gestures and songs, into their houses. It is true, indeed, that the mufti, to shew his abhorrence of those prostitutes, in a city which is looked upon as one of the chief sanctuaries of the Mohammedan religion, debars them from entering into the mosques; but that is all the penalty he can inflict upon them, whilst the emperor, who draws a considerable revenue from those houses, openly tolerates and takes them under his own special protection.

Magistrates subordinate to a governor.

In other respects the government of the city is under very good regulations, and the magistracy very strict in keeping it up, and so they had need to do, considering the number of its inhabitants, amounting to near three hundred thousand, besides the great concourse of merchants and other foreigners with which it seems to swarm. The prime magistrate, who is styled provost of the merchants, usually resides in some of the most populous streets, that he may be near at hand to punish all delinquents. He is chosen from among the citizens, not by rotation, but for his merit and ability. There is a governor appointed by the emperor, who hath a kadi or judge under him, to try criminal causes. When a person is condemned to death, if he be a plebeian, he is led through the chief streets of the city, with his hands tied behind, to the place of execution. He is obliged to proclaim his punishment and the crime for which he has been condemned; and when he arrives at the gallows, he is hanged by the feet, and hath his throat cut; but if a gentleman, or person of higher rank, his throat is cut before-hand, and the hangman marches before the body, and proclaims his crime. A man convicted of murder is immediately carried to the nearest relation of the deceased, who may condemn him to what death he pleases, or compound with him for a sum or fine. If he denies the crime he is tortured, either by the bastinado or scourging, in such a severe manner, that he generally dies under the executioner's hands (K).

Punishments.

These

(K) There is still one circumstance more inhuman attending this kind of ordeal; which is, that when the accused stands

These severities are, nevertheless, in some measure, unavoidable in such populous cities, and among people so naturally given to all manner of pilfering, villainy, and lewdness.

Fez being the emporium and common magazine of Barbary, to which all manner of commodities are brought and exchanged, either for import or export, the streets swarm with merchants, and men of all trades and professions [f].

Imports. The imports chiefly consist in spicery, cochineal, vermillion, iron, brass, steel, wire, arms, ammunition, drugs, watches, small looking-glasses, quicksilver, tartar, opium, alum, aloes, English and other linen and woollen clothes, muslins, callicoes, fustians, gold wire, silks of all kinds, brocades, damasks, velvets, red woollen caps, toys and trinkets of all sorts, Guinea cowries, combs, paper, and a great variety of earthen ware.

Exports. The exports are hides and leather of all sorts, particularly the Moroccin, which is the manufacture of the country, skins, furs, wool, dates, almonds, raisins, figs, olives, honey, wax, silks of their own manufacturing, cotton and flax cloth of the same, horses, ostrich feathers, terrass, variety of pot-ashes, gold-dust, and ducats. Of these two articles the Jews have the sole brokerage, for which they pay a considerable tribute to the government. The city is defended by two castles; but neither of them have any cannon, or any defence except a guard of a few companies of Moors.

Fez stands in 38 deg. of latitude, and 4 deg. of west longitude.

Mequinez. Mequinez, or Miquinez, is another considerable city, situated on the river Sebu, or Subro, in a large and delightful plain, about twelve leagues westward of Fez, and three to the east of Sallee. It is three miles in compass, surrounded with stout walls. The inside of the city is full of mosques, colleges, baths, and other public buildings.

Market. It hath a continual market, to which the Arabs resort from all parts, to sell their hides, honey, wax, butter,

[f] Leo, lib. iii. Grammay, lib. x. cap 1. Marmol, lib. iv. cap. 5, & 22. D. Torres, Davity, Dapper, & al.

proof against it, and is declared innocent, if he hath not money enough to pay the kadi's and his secretary's fees, the former condemns him to such an additional number of blows or lashes as he thinks will be an equivalent to them.

dates,

dates, and other commodities. The palace resembles another city; and, though built in the Moresco style, hath something surprisingly grand, though much out of repair. The apartments and offices are interspersed with parks, gardens, pavilions, and other decorations. It stands on the highest part of the city; is surrounded with stately white walls; and consists of a great number of spacious squares, including two noble mosques. In one part is the seraglio, an extensive edifice; in another the halls of state, audience, council, &c. a third is for the handicraft trades that work for the armory; and in a fourth are lodged the king's artillery, magazines, and a number of his guards. The galleries of all these grand apartments are adorned with variety of mosaic work; the walks, pavements, alleys, and gardens, are all kept in good order; and the whole fabric is inclosed within a cincture three miles in compass. *Stately palace.*

The Jews have their quarter in the heart of the city, and the privilege of shutting their gates up at night, on account of their usefulness in carrying on the commerce. Mequinez is parted only by a road from Negro-town, so called from the king's black troops, which are quartered in it. *Negro-town.*

Sallee, Saley, or Cele, a city mentioned by Ptolemy, stands on the banks of the Gueron, now Buragra, or Buregreg, which divides it into two parts; the northern, called by the natives Sela, and by us Sallee, is encompassed by a strong wall, about six fathoms high, and half a fathom thick, on the top of which are battlements, flanked with towers, of a considerable height and strength. The southern part, on the opposite side of the river, is called Ravat or Rabat, and is of a much greater extent, but incloses a great number of gardens, orchards, and corn-fields, in which they may sow wheat enough to serve fifteen thousand men. This is likewise surrounded with high walls, said by the natives to have been built by those Christians which Jaacob Al Manzor, king of Arabia Felix, brought hither from Europe, after his conquest of Spain. On the south-east quarter stands a very high tower, from which they can see a ship at a great distance; it serves as a land-mark by day, and a light-house by night, and under it are the two docks belonging to the town, the one for building ships, and the other to secure them in the winter. The ascent between these and the tower is so easy, that a man may go up on horseback. *Sallee.* *Rabat.* *Walls.* *Watch tower.*

The harbour is large but shallow, seldom rising to above twelve feet at high-water; so that the corsairs, which be- *Harbour.*

long to this place, are obliged to put into the island of Fedal, at a small distance from it; the entrance of the harbour having a bar across it, which prevents any but the lighter sorts of vessels from sailing into it. The town is now guarded by two castles, the old and the new; one of these stands directly at the mouth of the river, next to which the walls are built on rocks, and high enough to shelter the governor's house from cannon-shot. The fortifications of it are very irregular, but such as the ground would permit; and within its walls, which are mostly of square stone, is a fort, just before the principal gate, which commands the whole town. Below it, next to the sea-side, near the point of the rock, facing the bar, is a bastion, mounted with five pieces of cannon, to secure the vessels that come to anchor in the road, or to shelter themselves from the pursuit of the enemy.

Old castle.

New castle.

The new castle is seated on the west side of the town, and of a square figure, flanked with towers and battlements, like the walls of the city. There is a communication between these fortresses by a high wall, flanked with two towers, and built upon arches, under which the people pass and repass to and from the strand. The emperor sends thither a governor, who presides over the city council, which is chosen from among the citizens; all merchandizes imported or exported pay a tenth part of their value to the government; but the chief wealth of the place arises from the piratical trade carried on by the corsairs, who are the expertest and boldest of any on the Barbary coast [g].

Government.

Tefeu-sara.

From Sallee one may behold, in a most spacious plain, about eight or nine miles distant, the noble ruins of the ancient city of Tefeu-sara, situate in a fertile territory, and inhabited by the Arabs, who have hitherto prevented it, as they have Marmora, Almodine, Alcassar, and a great many more from being rebuilt, that they may have the greater freedom to range about with their herds.

Mazagan.

Mazagan, by some Masignan, stands on the same coast, about ten leagues south-south-west of Sallee. It is a strong and well built town, in the hands of the Portuguese, who keep a good garrison in it, to prevent the Moors retaking it from them, as they did the strong city of Larach, situate on the same coast, near the mouth of the river Lucus, or Lucerio. Mazagan is surrounded with

g Leo, ubi supra. Grammay, ubi supra, cap. 4. Marmol, ubi supra, cap. 14, & al. supra citat.

a stout

a ſtout wall, ſo thick that ſix horſemen may ride abreaſt upon it all around, and well furniſhed with cannon.

Alcaſſar, Alcazar, or Alcaçar, formerly Cæſar Al Cabiris, ſtands on the ſame weſtern coaſt, and was once the reſidence of a governor. It is ſaid to have been built by the famed Jaacob Al Manzor, during his war with Spain, and was formerly a town of good trade, till the Portugueſe made themſelves maſters of it, anno 1458. But though it did not continue long in their hands, it is ſince gone gradually into decay, and lies now in a ruinous condition [h]. It is called Alcaſſar Quibir, or the *Great Caſtle*, to diſtinguiſh it from Alcaſſar Zequir, or the *Little Palace*, in the ſame kingdom. *Alcaſſar.*

Arzilla ſtands upon the ſame coaſt, within eight leagues of the Streights of Gibraltar, and about forty-eight from Fez. It is another of thoſe cities that were taken and held for ſome time by the Portugueſe, but being afterwards abandoned by them, has been decaying ever ſince. It was anciently called Zitia, and ſuppoſed to have been built by the Romans, about twelve leagues ſouth of the Streights. *Arzilla.*

Tangier, on the ſame coaſt, but about two miles within the Streights above mentioned, anciently called Tingis, was the capital of the Mauritania Tingitana. It ſtands on a handſome bay, and was once a very conſiderable place. It is ſaid by the African fabuliſts to have excelled all the cities of the world for largeneſs and magniſicence, and to have been ſurrounded by walls of braſs. It had, however, many ſumptuous edifices and palaces, and a conſiderable number of noblemen reſided there in the time of the Goths and Arabians; but being taken by the Portugueſe, anno 1471 [i], it became more conſiderable for its ſtrength than beauty. It was yielded to the Engliſh, as part of the dowry of the princeſs Catharine of Portugal, upon her marriage with king Charles II. who, at an immenſe expence and labour, made it one of the ſtrongeſt places on all thoſe coaſts, and built a deep mole, which ran three hundred fathoms into the ſea. But finding it too chargeable to keep, and the parliament refuſing to vote him the ſums demanded for its maintenance, he cauſed all thoſe fortifications to be blown up, after twenty-two years poſſeſſion, anno 1684. Since which time the Moors have endeavour- *Tangier.* *Taken by the Portugueſe.* *Yielded to the Engliſh.* *Demoliſhed*

[h] Iid. ibid. vide & Hiſt. Morocc. anno 1750. p. 355. [i] See Braithwait Revol. of Morocco, p. 320.

ed to repeople it, but have not hitherto been able to raise it above the degree of a mean fishing town.

Ceuta. Ceuta, no less considerable for its advantageous situation at the entrance of the Mediterranean than for the beauty of its public buildings, and the strength of its walls and bulwarks, by which, and a good garrison, it sustained an obstinate blockade, against an army of Moors, is situate on a rising ground, at the foot of the mountain of Apes, which juts out into the Streights, and makes the nearest point to the Spanish coast. It is still very considerable, and a bishop's see, hath a good palace and noble cathedral. Near it stands the celebrated mountain with seven summits, known to the ancients by the name of Septem Fratres. The Moors laid siege to it, anno 1697, and have kept it blocked up at times ever since.

Blocked up by the Moors.

Tetuan. Seven leagues south of Ceuta stands the city of Tetuan, or Tetegin, or Tetteguin, upon the rising of a rocky hill, on the Streights mouth. It is neither large nor strong, being surrounded by a wall made of mud and mortar, framed in wooden cases, and dried in the sun, without any mixture of broken bricks or stone. Here are not above eight hundred houses; but the inhabitants, by dint of piracy and a good trade for leather, wax, honey, and raisins, are most of them in good circumstances. Its chief strength consists in a garrison of about fifteen hundred men, and four hundred horse. The port is guarded by a square castle, flanked with towers of the same materials with the town walls, and, in time of danger, can contain a garrison of five hundred men. Though it is commanded by the adjacent mountains, it affords a safe shelter to the corsairs, who resort here in great numbers, to take in provisions. On which account the Spaniards attempted to choak up the mouth of the river, by sinking vessels loaded with stones, but the Moors found means to open it again.

Strong garrison.

Castle.

Dungeon. There is in the heart of the city a large musmorra, or *dungeon*, wherein they lock up their Christian slaves at night. The inhabitants are mostly the descendants of those Moors and Jews, who were driven out of Spain; the latter of whom carry on here a very considerable commerce. The houses are white-washed in such a manner as to be very offensive to the eyes, while the sun shines.

Basha's palace. The basha's palace is not only a curious but a magnificent structure, as is also his villa about two miles out of the town. The mosques and other public buildings are likewise

wise very grand, though in the Moresco taste. There are about a dozen cloisters belonging to their santons, or monks; and there are sanctuaries for all manner of crimes, except those against the government. The Jews, amounting to about five thousand, are allowed to make wine and brandy. They have seven synagogues, and no more than one hundred and seventy houses. The people here, as at Algiers, and other parts of Barbary, visit one another from the tops of their houses, which have handsome turrets on them, on which they regale themselves in the cool of the evening. *Twelve sanctuaries.*

The view is delighted with the fertile territory that surrounds it, covered with fine gardens, orchards, villas, with shady walks, and avenues; affording fine vistos, especially a spacious burying-ground, on an adjacent eminence, adorned with such a beautiful variety of cupolas, pyramids, and other monuments, that it looks like a fine city in miniature. To which, if we add its fine prospect towards the sea; the courteousness and affability of the people, beyond what they are even in their most noted capitals, we shall not scruple to pronounce it one of the most agreeable cities in all Barbary [k]. *Noble prospect.*

We have now taken a review of the most considerable cities of the two principal provinces, or kingdoms, of this empire; namely, Morocco and Fez; it is now time to say something of those of the third and last; namely, Suz, Sous, or Sowz, the most southern of all the three. The river of its name, being the southern boundary of the whole empire, divides it from the province of Darah, of which some part still retains the name of Farther Suz, as that on this side of that river is called Hither Suz. *The province or kingdom of Suz.*

The province of Suz is, especially on the south side, intersected by several ridges of the Atlas, from which the many springs that flow render the whole country very fruitful in pasture, corn, rice, sugar, indigo, dates, vines, and other fruits. The river Suz in particular, which, like the Nile in Egypt, overflows all the low lands, and is, like that, cut into canals, doth exceedingly enrich all the territories it runs through Some of the mountains yield copper and alum; and those of Tibar, gold in great quantities, which is called by the Negroes nack-naki, and is conveyed away by the caravans that come hither to trade, and deal likewise in slaves and other merchandizes. The Suz, and other inferior rivers, drive a vast number of su- *Produce.* *Tibar gold.*

[k] See History of the Revolutions of Morocco, ubi supra.

gar-

Fine indigo. gar mills, as well as for grinding corn. The indigo, which grows wild in all the low grounds, without art or culture, is of a most vivid colour, and is made and exported in great quantities. The warmth of the climate, joined to the richness of the soil, and plenty of water, makes the harvest very forward, it seldom beginning later than the month of May. The inhabitants, being mostly Berebers, are very industrious. Many of them live in towns, and are wealthy, and much more polite than those in Fez and Morocco.

Early harvest.

Cape Aguer. The two most remarkable capes are those of Aguer and Nan or Non, the former on the north-west of the mouth of the Suz, near which the Portuguese built the town of its name, which was at first taken by the famed Diego Lopez de Seguerra, who made afterwards a memorable voyage into the East Indies. This adventurer finding the town had a convenient harbour, famous for its fishery, built a stout fort to defend it. Emanuel king of Portugal, having bought it of him, added several other fortifications, and secured it with a strong garrison: but they were afterwards driven from it by Mohammed, the youngest of the two shariffs, who became soon after emperor of Morocco and Fez, as will be seen in a subsequent section.

Cape Non. The other cape, about seven miles more south on the same coast, was called Non by the Portuguese, by whom it was imagined the ne plus ultra, of navigation [1].

The cities of this province are not very considerable.

Messa. Messa is situated on the river Suz, where it discharges itself into the sea, and at the foot of Mount Atlas. It is divided into three distinct quarters, about a mile distant from each other, and each inclosed with its own walls. The inhabitants cultivate the lands about it, which are greatly fertilized by the overflowing of the Suz; though whenever it fails to do so, they are obliged to live mostly upon dates, which are here much coarser than in other parts of Africa. As that river forms no haven, they have but little commerce abroad. The shore before it being flat and shallow, it frequently happens that great whales are cast upon it; and there stands a mosque between the town and the sea, the beams and joists, of which are made of the bones of that fish; a circumstance which induces the people to believe this to be the place where Jonah was cast on shore. Some ambergris is likewise found

Whales cast upon its coast.

[1] Leo, Marmol, Grammay, Davity, D. De Torres, Dapper, Mouquet, Braithwait, &c.

on this ſhore, which is ſold very cheap, the Moors looking upon it as no better than the excrements of a whale, or of another fiſh which they call ambracan. *Ambergris ſold cheap.*

On the ſame river, and about three or four miles from Meſſa, ſtands Teſſut, Teceut, or Techeut, and, like it, divided into three parts, but much larger and more populous. In the heart of them is erected a ſtately moſque, through which a branch of the river runs. The plain on which the town is ſeated, is ſpacious, and fruitful in corn, barley, pulſe, ſugar, and variety of fruits. The town is ſuppoſed to contain four thouſand families, moſt of them induſtrious and in good circumſtances. The ſugar manufactory flouriſhes, and the fineſt Morocco leather is dreſſed here, and exported in great quantities. *Teſſut.*

Tarudant, though not a large place, is in a flouriſhing condition, and carries on a good commerce with the Berebers, who reſort to its markets, and are wealthy. Its buildings are handſome, and the adjacent plains fertile. It was once the ſeat of its own princes, who adorned it with ſumptuous edifices, and is now the reſidence of the governors of the province. Its inhabitants are reckoned courteous and polite. *Tarudant.*

Tedſi hath about five thouſand inhabitants; the ſugar manufacture is their chief wealth and employment. The great moſque is the reſidence of the alfakis, whoſe chief is ſole judge in all religious matters. Its market on Mondays is reſorted to by merchants from many parts of Barbary and Negroland, beſides the Arabs and Moors. The traffick conſiſts in leather, cattle, horſes, linen and woollen cloths, ſugar, wax, honey, butter, and great variety of iron tools. The Jews are numerous and rich, and the town's-people much celebrated for their ſingular courteſy to ſtrangers. The ſhariff keeps a governor in it, with four hundred horſe, to protect the commerce, which is the moſt conſiderable on that ſide of the Atlas. It was formerly a little commonwealth, governed by ſix of its chief inhabitants, choſen and changed every ſix months; but was afterwards ſubdued to the yoke of the Benimerini, and ſince to that of the ſhariffs. *Tedſi.* *Commerce.*

Tagoſt, or Tagoaſt, the largeſt city in the province, was built by the natives on a ſpacious plain, and ſurrounded with walls that are now decayed. It is computed to have about eight thouſand families, of which four hundred are Jews; the reſt, though Mohammedans, preſerve, nevertheleſs, a kind of religious veneration for the great St. Auſtin, whom they affirm to have been born there. *Tagoſt.*

It

It enjoys two markets in the week, to which the Arabs and Moors resort with their commodities, and the Negroes to buy cloaths. Gared was built by sharif Abd'allah, but is only worth notice for its many sugar-mills, and its leather manufacture, the exportation of which into Europe alone, is said to bring in to the sharif thirty-four thousand pounds yearly [m]. So much for the geography of this empire, and of its three principal provinces or kingdoms. We have now only to speak of Taphilet, once a kingdom of itself, but now become subject to the two emperors, ever since the reduction of its capital by sharif Muley Hamet.

Kingdom of Taphilet, sandy and barren.

This kingdom is a long tract of dry and barren ground, running almost east and west, bounded on the north by Fez and Tremecen, on the south by the sahrah, or *desert*, on the east by Segelmessa and the country of the Berbers, and on the west by Morocco and Suz. The extent of it, including the provinces of Itata, Darha, Sakrah, and Towet, is prodigious, and too variously computed for us to adjust the difference, considering the little knowlege that can be had from the helps now extant of those parts. The country is, for the most part, so sandy and hot, that it scarce produces any corn or fruit. The only place where they can sow any barley is along the banks of the rivers, and even there it grows with great difficulty, and but in small quantities, through the violent heat and parching drought that reign through all these regions the greatest part of the year, so that the alcaides and persons of distinction are only able to purchase it, the common people being so poor, that they are forced to live mostly upon dates and camels flesh, both which are here in great plenty. Water is likewise so very scarce, that the inhabitants are forced to save that which falls from the clouds in winter, to serve them the whole year.

Product.

What grows in greatest plenty, and without art or culture, is their indigo, which, however, yields a more vivid and lasting blue than that which is cultivated with so much care and labour in the American plantations, and brings a very good profit to the inhabitants [n]. They have likewise abundance of ostriches, of a prodigious size, and good to eat; camels, which carry vast burthens through these barren deserts, and dromedaries exceedingly swift, and chiefly used for expedition, they commonly travelling

[m] Iidem ibid. [n] Leo, Grammay. Marmol, lib. i. cap. 23. Torres & al. sup. citat. St. Olan, Etat de Moroc.

a hun-

a hundred and twenty miles in one day, with little sustenance or refreshment. The chief commerce of the Taphiletans and Itatans, besides the indigo, consists in their dates, and in a sort of leather made of the hides of a creature they call dantos, or lantos, which comes from Numidia, and are here fabricated into excellent shields [n]. They likewise make a sort of striped silk of various colours, much used by the Moors and Negroes, as also fine cassocks and caps for the men, veils for the women, curious carpets, and other such ornaments. Most of the dates that are brought into Europe come from Taphilet, the emperor not permitting them to be exported from any other place of his dominions, and they are reckoned the best that grow in his whole empire. We are told moreover, that the fine leather made here is tanned with the stones of that fruit. Taphilet has always been put under the government of one or other of the emperor's sons, not so much perhaps on account of its having been formerly under its own kings, or cheyks, as because Muley Ishmael and other sharifs, were natives of it; though it is the least coveted by those young princes of any in Morocco. They entertain here commonly about four thousand troops, mostly horse, to keep the people, who are chiefly Berebers, or Arabs, in subjection.

The emperor, among his other titles, takes that of lord of Taphilet and Darha, and often permits the prince, whom he sends thither governor, to assume the royal honours.

City of Taphilet.

The city of Taphilet, the capital of this kingdom, is situate upon a river of the same name, and hath a stout castle, the common residence of the young sharifs. It is supposed to have been built by the old Berebers, and is inhabited by about two thousand of them, distinguished by the name of Fitelis, who are industrious and rich in date-trees, camels, horses, and other cattle. Taphilet may be styled the rendezvous of merchants, not only from Barbary and Africa, but even from Europe. The people are affable and civil to strangers, but the Arabs extremely addicted to superstition and sorcery. Other towns worth out notice we find not in this kingdom, nor any thing except the river of its name, which descends from the land of Sagara, part of Mount Atlas, and directs its course from north west to south-east. After having watered the city and plain of Taphilet, and received, among

[n] De his; vide Leo Afric. lib. ix. & al. sup. citat.

others,

others, the Segora and Haded, it loses itself in the lands of the desart of Darha. Between Taphilet and Darha is a high road, which crosses part of Mount Atlas, through which the caravans pass with their merchandizes.

Province of Gesula. Under the kingdom of Taphilet is included the province of Gesula, or Guzula, perhaps a corruption of the ancient name of Gætulia, part of which the shariffs have found means to bring under their obedience. This large territory hath Taphilet on the east, Morocco on the north, Suz on the west, and Darha on the south. Its extent and boundaries are too vague for us to ascertain.

Situation.

Inhabitants. The country is mostly dry and barren, the inhabitants poor and brutish, and the best part of them employed either in the iron and copper mines of the country, or in the fabrication of those metals into all manner of utensils used in Barbary. These they exchange for horses, linen and woollen cloths, spices, and such other commodities as they want, either by carrying them into other parts of Barbary, or by the frequent fairs they hold in their plains, or in their large towns, some of which contain one thousand houses or more. Here is one fair in particular, kept in a large plain, which lasts two months, and is resorted to by strangers from most parts of Barbary and Negroland. During the whole time the Gesulans seem to lose their savage temper, and shew an uncommon hospitality to all comers, insomuch, that though these commonly amount to about ten thousand at least, they are all maintained, during their stay, at the public charge, with their servants and cattle, there being persons appointed on purpose to dress their victuals, and furnish them with all other conveniences. In order to prevent tumults and disorders, there is also a sufficient number of soldiers under the command of two captains, who immediately seize and punish the offenders; a thief is immediately put to death on the spot, and his flesh is thrown to the dogs. One remarkable custom is here established, and religiously kept: let them be at war with whom they will, they observe a truce three days in the week with all strangers for the encouragement of commerce; and there is a cessation of all hostilities during the two months of the above mentioned fair.

Strangers maintained gratis.

Weapons. The inhabitants of this province are said to be so numerous, that they are able to bring above sixty thousand men into the field. Their weapons are the scymetar, dagger, spear, and short gun. Their dress is only a short striped woollen or linen jacket, with half sleeves, over which they throw

throw a kind of long coat or gown of coarſe woollen cloth, and under this hangs either a dagger or a ſhort two-edged ſword. Some ſuppoſe them to have no religion at all, at leaſt not that of Mohammed, not ſo much on account of their ferocity, but becauſe they chuſe to begin their great fair on the birth-day of that pretended prophet. They have neither gallows, wheels, nor croſſes; but every capital offender is immediately pierced with darts, and his carcaſe thrown to the dogs.

Dreſs. *Religion.* *Puniſhments.*

Their country produces very little corn, but plenty of barley, dates, good paſture, and variety of cattle. The Portugueſe had once made themſelves maſters of part of Geſula, and brought it under tribute, but they ſoon recovered their freedom again, and held it till the ſharifs ſubdued them; which ſecond calamity they brought upon themſelves by their plundering incurſions. But ſince their reduction, they have continued very faithful to them, though rather under the name of allies than ſubjects and ributaries [z].

Product.

SECT. II.

The Government, Laws, Religion, Trade, Learning, and Cuſtoms of the Empire of Morocco.

THERE is not, perhaps, under the cope of heaven, a more deſpotic and tyrannical government than this, eſpecially ſince the ſharifs have made themſelves maſters of it; though it was not much better even before that time. Religion, laws, ancient cuſtoms, and inbred prejudices, all conſpire to render the monarch abſolute and arbitrary, and to confirm the ſubjects in the moſt abject and miſerable ſtate of ſlavery. The former is not only allowed to have an uncontrolable property and power over the lives and fortunes of the latter, but, in a great meaſure, even over their conſciences too, inaſmuch as he is the only perſon who, as ſucceſſor of Mohammed, ſets up for the principal interpreter of the Koran, and appoints all the judges under him, of whom thoſe of Morocco and Fez are the chief, whoſe buſineſs is to explain and diſpenſe all matters relating to their religion; and, being his creatures and dependants, they dare not ſteer otherwiſe

The government, why moſt tyrannical in the world.

[z] Leo Afric. lib. ii. Grammay, lib. ix. cap. 8. Marmol, lib. iii. cap. 51. D. Torres, La Croix, Davity, Dapper, & al. ſup. citat.

than as he directs. Whenever, therefore, a law is enacted by him, and proclaimed by his governors in all places of his dominions, it is every where received with an implicit and religious submission. On the other hand, the subjects are bred up with a notion, that those that die in the execution of his command, are intitled to an immediate admittance into paradise; and those that have the honour to die by his hand, to a still greater degree of felicity. We need not therefore wonder at finding so much cruelty, oppression, and tyranny on the one side, and so much submission, passivenes, and misery on the other.

Negroes, why become so powerful.

This resignation, however, extends no farther than the Moors; for as to the Arabs, the subjection and tribute they pay to those tyrants was always involuntary, and altogether forced; with respect to the Negroes, their zeal and attachment is owing merely to the great sway and power which they had gained in the government during the last reign, both on account of their being better soldiers than the Moors, and out of a particular regard which Muley Ishmael had for them, on account of his mother being a Negro; so that, being now grown in a manner too strong to be suppressed, their loyalty and affection to those monarchs, whom they strive to imitate in all their vices, must be supposed to rise and fall, according to the favour and encouragement they receive from them. They are now the only troops to whom those tyrants intrust their persons, their treasure, and their concubines; whom they raise to the highest posts of authority and profit (A); to tyrannize and oppress their native, as well as their most faithful and submissive subjects.

We shall find less reason to wonder at this connivance, if we consider, that, sooner or later, all the extortions of those blood-suckers come in course into the emperor's own

(A) These Negroes, ever since their adhering so closely to Muley Ishmael, have been in high request with his successors. They are brought so young out of Guinea, that they quickly lose the memory of it; and having no relations or friends, nor dependence, but on the emperor's favour, are the more ready to obey his orders in all things. They are at first brought up to be foot soldiers, and, after so many years service, are advanced to the cavalry, which is a great honour in that country. They are taught little else except the exercise of arms, and to obey the emperor's orders (1).

(1) Braith. Revol. of Morocco, p. 350.

treasury,

treasury, either by the heavy fines imposed upon them in consequence of any complaint preferred against them, or by the seizure of all their effects when they die: for the emperors succeed as their heirs, making only such provision for their families as they think proper. Upon the whole, the emperor of Morocco is the maker, judge, interpreter, and, in many instances likewise, the executioner, of his own laws, which have no other limits than his own arbitrary will. To preserve, however, some shew or shadow of justice, he allows the mufti a kind of superiority in spirituals, and a sort of liberty to the meanest subject to summon him before his tribunal. But the danger which such an attempt would bring upon a plaintiff, is of itself sufficient to deter any man from it; especially considering the little probability there is that the judges would run the risk of declaring themselves against a monarch whose creatures they are, and on whom their lives and fortunes so absolutely depend [a].

The titles of the emperors of Morocco.

The titles which the emperors of Morocco assume, are those of most glorious, mighty, and noble emperor of Africa, king of Fez and Morocco, Taphilet, Suz, Dahra, and all the Algarbe, and its territories in Africa; grand sharif (or, as others write it, xarif, that is, *successor*, or *vicegerent*) of the great prophet Mohammed, &c.

His ministers ecclesiastical, civil, and military.

The mufti and the kadis are judges of all religious and civil affairs; and the bashas, governors, alcaides, and other military officers, of those that concern the state or the army: all of them the most obsequious creatures and slaves of their prince, insolent and rapacious, from whom neither justice nor favour can be obtained, but by mere dint of bribery. Neither can it, indeed, be otherwise, in such an arbitrary government, where the highest posts must not only be bought of the prince at a most extravagant price, and kept only by as exorbitant a tribute, which is yearly paid to him, but where no one is sure to continue longer than he can bribe some of the courtiers to insinuate to the monarch that he pays to the utmost of his power, and much beyond what was expected from him. Add to this, that those bashas, and governors, are obliged to keep their agents and spies in constant pay at court, to prevent their being supplanted by higher bidders, slanderers, and sycophants [b].

[a] D. Torres Relat. de los Xarifs. Mouquet Voyage, cap. 2. Braithwait Hist. of Morocco, 1750. cap. 1. [b] Vide auct. supra citat. St. Olan, Etat de Morocco, p. 106, & seq.

Revenue. From what hath been said under this head, it may be reasonably concluded, that this branch of the imperial revenue must be very considerable, though there is no possibility to make any conjecture of its real amount. Another considerable fund is the piratical trade, which brings the greater income into his treasury, as he is not at any expence either for fitting out corsair vessels, or maintaining their men, and yet hath the tenth of all the cargo, and of all the captives; besides, he appropriates to himself all the rest of them, by paying the captors fifty crowns per head, by which means he engrosses all the slaves to his own service and advantage. This article is, indeed, a very considerable addition to his revenue, not only as he sells their ransom at a very high rate, but likewise as he hath the profit of all their labour, without allowing them any other maintenance than a little bread and oil; nor any other assistance, when sick, than what medicines a Spanish convent, which he tolerates there, gives them gratis; and which, nevertheless, is forced to pay him an annual present for that toleration, besides furnishing the court with medicines, and the slaves with lodging and diet when they are not able to work. A third branch of his revenue consists in the tenth part of all cattle, corn, fruits, honey, wax, hides, rice, and other products of the earth, which is exacted of the Arabs and Berebers, as well as of the natives; and these tithes are levied by the bashas, governors, and alcaides, with all possible severity. The Jews and Christians likewise pay a capitation, the former of six crowns per head, on all males from fifteen years and upwards, besides other arbitrary imposts, and fines; that on the Christians, for the liberty of trading in his dominions, rises and falls according to their number, and the commerce they drive; but whatever it may bring yearly into his coffers, it is detrimental to trade in general, seeing it discourages great numbers from settling there, notwithstanding the artful invitations of the emperors and their ministers. Besides those arbitrary exactions, there is still another great hardship attending them; viz. that they cannot leave the country without forfeiting all their debts and effects to the crown. The duties on all imports and exports, is another branch of his income, but the amount of it, communibus annis, no author hath yet given us any account of; only consul Hatfield hath computed the whole yearly revenue, including ordinaries and extraordinaries, to amount to five hundred quintals of silver, each quintal, or

Jews and Christians taxed.

or one hundred pound weight, valued at ſomewhat above three hundred and thirty pounds ſterling; ſo that the whole amounts to no more than one hundred and ſixty-five thouſand pounds: a ſmall revenue, indeed, for ſo large an empire, if the calculation may be depended upon [c]. But St. Olan, in general, repreſents it as ſo conſiderable, that Muley Iſhmael was reckoned to have amaſſed out of it a treaſure in gold and ſilver of about fifty effective millions, but whether of crowns or livres he doth not ſpecify [d]. After what has been ſaid, we have the leſs cauſe to wonder at thoſe exorbitant exactions which he extorts from Chriſtian princes and ſtates, whenever they are obliged either to ſeek his alliance, or to obtain ſome redreſs in favour of their trading ſubjects; much leſs at the ſhameful delays, inſults, extortions, indignities, and injuſtice, to which their ambaſſadors are expoſed.

The navy of this empire hath been always inconſiderable; neither is the number of their ſhips fixed, but riſes or ſinks according to the emergency. In St. Olan's time it conſiſted of no more than twelve ſail, one half of which belonged to the emperor, and the other to private ſubjects; moſt of them in bad condition, carrying no more than eighteen or twenty cannon each, and about two hundred men, poorly armed and accoutred [e]. In Mr. Braithwait's time their whole naval force conſiſted only of two ſhips of twenty guns each, the biggeſt not above two hundred tons, a French brigantine they had lately taken, and a few row-veſſels; and yet with theſe they ſailed out of Sallee and Mamora, and made a great number of prizes. It is a ſingular happineſs for Chriſtian traders that the Morocco dominions do not afford one tolerable good harbour; that of Sallee, which is by far the beſt, being almoſt dry at low water: for, if they had better ports, they would probably make a greater figure at ſea, and become a greater annoyance. Another want they labour under, beſides that of timber trees for building of ſhips, is that of tackle for rigging, with which, as well as powder and ſhot, they are furniſhed by England and Holland.

Land forces, how levied and maintained.

The land forces would, indeed, make a much greater figure, were they not diſperſed in ſmall numbers throughout this large empire, very ill armed and accoutred, and altogether undiſciplined. The greateſt part of their re-

[c] Braithwait, ubi ſupra, p. 377. [d] Etat. de Morocco, p. 105, & ſeq. [e] St. Olan, Etat de Morocco, p. 14.

negadoes are forced to list amongst the foot, and sent to distant parts to garrison castles and forts on the frontiers. Their pay is only twenty blankits, that is forty pence, per month, and a small allowance of flour. However they are commanded by an alcaide of their own, that is one who is a renegado, and hath but a small allowance. The Moors are not much better paid, or equipped; but the choicest troops, both of horse and foot, are the Negroes, who, being brought hither from Guinea very young, and trained up to the service, commonly make the best soldiers, and are most relied on, as having signalized themselves upon several occasions, particularly at the sieges of Oran and Ceuta, of which we shall speak in the sequel. These are computed to amount in all, horse and foot, to about forty thousand, and the Moorish militia is pretty near as numerous (B). He might, indeed, easily increase that number in a war against the Christians, wherein they come more voluntarily, than when it happens to be against any of the Mohammedan princes. But how to arm one quarter of them, would be very difficult, his armory being scarcely sufficient to furnish above ten thousand with firelocks and scymetars, besides one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, part of which were taken in the Spanish Capitana, and the rest were brought from the fortress of Larrach, when the Spaniards were driven out of it; all which are there laid up, as well as his treasure, for the use of that son whom he designs for his successor, against any of his contending brethren, or any other competitor. For he that can make himself master of these two repositories, is, in a great measure, sure to gain the crown; which being neither wholly elective nor hereditary, commonly falls to the share of the strongest and

(B) These forces, however, are neither raised, paid, nor armed at the emperor's expence, but, upon any concerted expedition, are sent to him by the alcaides, every one of whom furnishes his particular quota, according to the extent or capacity of his government; every town and village being obliged to maintain a proportionable number, ready armed to march, upon the first warning. Those who are picked out to serve in the cavalry, are furnished with horses, which they are obliged to maintain, as well as themselves, out of the allowance they receive from their town or village, and both horse and foot are thereby exempted from taxes during the war (2).

(2) St. Olan, ubi supra, p. 113, & seq. Braithwait, ubi supra.

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beſt provided with thoſe two main ſinews of war, eſpecially if he hath had the addreſs to make himſelf beloved or eſteemed by the Negroes, who are the ſole guards of the king's perſon, palace, treaſure, wives, concubines, and whole family, and who have the government of the moſt conſiderable provinces and cities in the empire, next to the princes of the blood [f].

Trade and navigation.

There is little or no foreign commerce here, but what is carried on either by the Jews or Chriſtians. The Moors neither underſtand it, nor have any trading veſſels of their own; ſo that the whole navigation is carried on by European ſhips, chiefly Engliſh and French. But the want of convenient harbours on the one hand, and the exorbitant duties laid on all imports and exports, to ſay nothing of many other frauds and exactions, with which the foreign merchants are oppreſſed, hamper trade in ſuch a manner, that it is not the fourth part ſo extenſive as it would otherwiſe be.

The chief exports are copper, tin, wool, hides, honey, wax, dates, raiſins, almonds, olives, indigo, gum arabic, ſandric, cordovans, oſtrich feathers, elephants teeth, and fine mats; as for corn, none is ſuffered to be exported, that being expreſsly forbidden by the Koran, though the Tuniſans and Algerines uſually diſpenſe with the prohibition.

The uſual imports are cloths, linen, lead, iron in bars, hard-ware, arms, bullets, and gun-powder; all which paid a duty of ten, but now only eight per cent; beſides which, the ſhips trading to theſe dominions pay one barrel of gun-powder for entrance, with twelve for loading and anchorage, and twelve more to the captain of the port. But veſſels ſailing to or from Gibraltar pay but half of that duty, in conſequence of a former indulgence, granted by the late Muley Iſhmael, who had a particular regard for the Engliſh above all other Europeans. Engliſh and French conſulage amounts to eight dollars; and every French and Spaniſh ſhip pays three more to the hoſpital, or convent, of Spaniſh friars, founded there for the benefit of Chriſtian ſlaves. It is a politic maxim among the Moors of this empire, and might be univerſally obſerved every-where, to trade with any ſhip that comes into their ports, though belonging to a ſtate at war with them, and trade with them for all ſuch commodities as they have occaſion for. They will even permit their

[f] Braithwait, ubi ſupra, St. Olan, ibid.

consuls and merchants to live with them in the same security as if they were at peace with the nation to which they belong [g].

Land commerce by caravan.

Besides their commerce by sea, they carry on a very considerable traffick by land by their caravans, which set out twice a year from Fez to Mecca and Medina, and carry variety of their woollen manufactures, some of which are exceedingly fine and beautiful, besides cochineal, indigo, ostrich feathers, and Morocco skins; in return for which they bring silks, muslins, and variety of drugs. They likewise send large caravans into Guinea, consisting of many thousand camels, which the length of the way, and difficulty of the passage, through desarts void of provisions and water, render absolutely necessary, every second beast being loaded with those necessaries. The others carry thither salt, cowries, woollen and silk manufactures, and oil; which they exchange with the Negroes for gold-dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves [h].

Coin of three sorts.

The coin of this empire is of three sorts; the lowest called a fluce, is a small piece of copper, somewhat less than our farthing, twenty of which make a blankit, another small coin of silver, of the value of about two pence English. This last, for want of being milled, is liable to be clipped by the Jews. For those Jews are both melters and coiners, and get considerably by both. They likewise exchange good money for bad; for which, besides the payment of the difference, they extort an extravagant premium.

Clipped and debased by the Jews.

Gold coin.

The gold coin is the ducat, not unlike that of Hungary, worth about nine shillings sterling, three of which make a moidore, and are generally so changed. Merchants accounts are kept by ounces, each of which contains four blankits, and four of which make a ducat account, or, as they style it, a metical. But, in payments to the government, they will take no less than seventeen and a half for a gold ducat. These three last ounces and ducats, or, meticals, are imaginary. As for the three real species above mentioned, the Mohammedan religion not permitting them to bear the prince's or any other effigy, they are only stamped with some Arabic characters. As for foreign coin, whether gold or silver, it is only valued according to its weight, and as if it was to be melted;

g St. Olan, p. 140, & seq. Braithwait, Hist. of Morocco, p. 356. Mouette, ibid. cap. 15. & al. Hist. of Barbary.

h Braithwait, ibid. p. 358.

and

and the Jews make a considerable profit, not only in the exchange of it, but in filing, lessening, and even debasing it, practices which make it dangerous to take any from them without the scales and the touchstone.

Learning much neglected.

Learning in Morocco, is wholly confined to their priests and doctors of their law. As for the rest, they think themselves learned enough if they can but read, write, and cast accounts; and even these qualifications are much neglected, even by their princes and nobles, many of whom, like the late emperor Muley Ishmael, can neither read nor write: though this ignorance seems to be a degeneracy of no longer standing than since their falling under the subjection of the sharifs, and quite opposite to a proverbial saying of theirs, "A horse, a woman, and a book [t];" which expressed their three predominant inclinations. The two former, they retain as much as ever, no nation being more expert and dexterous in all kinds of horsemanship, nor more addicted to women than they. But at present their appetite for learning, seems wholly extinguished among them in every respect, except, perhaps, in the great regard they still pay to their doctors and professors. They are likewise much addicted to astrology, and place great confidence in charms, magic, and other superstitious trumpery. They have no physicians except quacks, who deal much in simples, amulets, and other pretended operations of magic.

Much addicted to astrology.

Schools.

They have regular schools in all their cities and towns, to teach children to read, write, and cast accounts; and all the books they are taught are some short catechisms of their faith. When a boy hath finished his reading of the Koran, he is handsomely dressed, and set upon a horse, and led in triumph through the city by the rest of the school-boys. The children never receive any chastisement, either at school or at home, but on the soles of their feet, with a small rod, or flat ferula.

Martial discipline defective.

Their martial skill and discipline, notwithstanding their continual wars at home and abroad, and the care which the late sharifs have taken to breed their Negro troops to arms from their infancy, is still amazingly rude and imperfect in every respect, excepting, perhaps, their dexterity in riding and horsemanship; and even in this they rather shew an unusual agility than any military skill; their horses being now rather remarkable for their docility and fleetness, than for martial spirit; and yet, in ancient times, the Mauritanian cavalry was reckoned of all others

[t] Braithwait, p. 346, & seq. & 391. St. Olan, p. 81. Hist. of Moroc. p. 362, & al.

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the most formidable: the foot is still worse disciplined, and worse accoutred. When they engage the enemy, their method is to place the horse on the two wings, and the foot in the center, which extends in the form of a crescent. Where the ground will allow it, the line never consists of above two ranks, which are more easily broke by the enemy's horse, whenever these can come to attack them, because the foot have neither discipline nor order to prevent their being broke. They make but a poor figure at best, either in marching, encamping, or fighting; and the only mark of courage they shew, is when they are going to engage the enemy; at which time they begin the onset with loud shouts, which are followed with some short ejaculatory prayer for victory. The cavalry, which is nearest to the emperor, and chiefly consists of Negroes, is armed with guns, pistols, and scymetars; and that which is farthest from him only with musquets and lances. The infantry is variously armed, some with guns, others with bows, slings, short pikes, clubs, and broad-swords. With these weapons they engage the enemy, especially Christians, rather with a kind of enthusiastic fury, than like a well-disciplined army; but if they meet with a brave opposition, or an unexpected repulse, they are the more easily put to the rout. As to the Arabs or Berebers, they are seldom called in as auxiliaries, because, being under a kind of forced subjection, they cannot be safely trusted; but what is required of them is, that they furnish the emperor's troops with provisions of corn, barley, meat, butter, oil, and honey, under pain of military execution, wherever they encamp. They are very numerous, and for the most part brave and stout, and fond of liberty, and would soon shake off the yoke, if they were not kept under by oppressive taxes, and the want of good arms. But as they are all of the Mohammedan religion, the sharifs, when at war with any Christian powers, will venture to oblige them to send a certain quota to fight under their banner; at which time they furnish them with fire and other arms, and even with horses, all which they strip them of again, as soon as the campaign is over, before they are suffered to return to their own homes [x].

Way of fighting.

Arms.

Arabs furnish the army.

Religion of Morocco.

In point of religion, the people of Morocco are strict followers of the sect of Melech, whose extravagant and superstitious doctrines they have adopted, and without the belief of which they think a Mohammedan cannot be

[x] Marmol, Leo Africanus, Grammay, Dapper, & al. sup citat.

be ſaved. They are ſtill more ſtrenuouſly held at Algiers, Tunis, Taphilet, and other parts of Barbary, where we ſhall ſpeak more fully of them: thoſe of Morocco and Fez are not only zealous ſticklers for them, but have introduced ſeveral others, equally impertinent and ridiculous, of which they are no leſs ſtrict obſervers: ſuch as ſending on certain days variety of victuals to be placed on the tombs of their deceaſed relations; their burying gold, ſilver, and jewels, and other conveniencies, with them, that they may live the more at their eaſe in the other world; the digging their graves narrow at the top and broad at the bottom, to give the deceaſed more room, and greater facility to gather up his bones at the reſurrection; on which account, and to prevent any mixture or confuſion, they never inter two perſons in one grave. They pay a great veneration to thoſe ſepulchres, embelliſh them with cupolas, and other ornaments, and forbid all Chriſtians to approach them. Every Friday, which is their ſabbath, thoſe ſepulchres are crowded with men and women, in a blue dreſs, which is the colour for their mourning, who are allowed to repair thither, to pay their tribute of tears and prayers for the dead; and by marbuts, who commonly have their cells in that neighbourhood, and, for a little money, join in their devotions with ſeeming zeal and fervency, this being a conſiderable branch of their trade. They all ply here with their beads in their hands, and repeat a certain number of paſſages out of the Koran, more or leſs, according to the generoſity of their devotees.

Veneration for their dead.

They profeſs a more than common abhorrence againſt all Chriſtians, and breed up their children to the ſame averſion. The uſual name they call them by is that of dogs; and they ſeldom make mention of any without tacking ſome hearty curſe to it. The very ambaſſadors themſelves are not exempt from their inſults and curſes as they go along the ſtreets, and are often pelted with ſtones and dirt by the populace [z].

Hatred of all Chriſtians.

They not only pay a great veneration to their marbuts, an idle pack of prieſts, who live and thrive on the folly of the ſuperſtitious laity, but to thoſe who have made their pilgrimage to Mecca, whom they ſtyle hadges, or ſaints, and allow them ſeveral conſiderable privileges. The very camels and horſes that have been there are eſteemed ſo

Strange regard to Mecca pilgrims.

[z] Leo, Grammay, Marmol, & al. ſupra citat. vide & St. Olan, p. 50, & ſeq. Braithwait, p. 364, & ſeq.

holy,

holy, that they are exempted from future service, well fed and kept, and when they die are allowed the same kind of burial as they give to their nearest relations (G).

Their worship in their mosques is much the same as we have already described in other parts of the Moslem dominions. They enter them bare footed, and behave with great decency and seeming devotion. If a man be convicted of having absented himself from them during eight days, he is, for the first fault, rendered incapable of being a witness in any court; is mulcted for the second; and burnt as a heretic for the third. As for the women, they being looked upon as only created for procreation, and apt to inspire men with impure thoughts at their devotions, they are not permitted to enter those places, but pray at home, or at the sepulchres lately mentioned. They allow salvation for all, of what nation or religion soever, that die before they are fifteen years of age; but to none beyond it, unless to the Moslems of their own sect. And those females of other religions that die virgins under the age above mentioned, are reserved to make up the compliment of seventy females which every male will be entitled to in paradise. They reckon ideots, madmen, and pretended sorcerers and charm-mongers, among their saints of the first class, and build chapels to them after their death, which are visited with great devotion; and those places, as well as the sepulchres of their hadges, or Mecca pilgrims, whether men, camels, or horses, are sanctuaries for all crimes, except treason. The Koran forbidding all games of hazard, that prohibition is so strictly observed in these dominions, that the people of all ranks content themselves with playing at chess, and draughts, and express an utter abhorrence for cards, and dice. If any person hath lost his money at any game, and complains of it to the kadi, he will order it immediately to be restored to him, and the winner to be bastinadoed or fined. The same punishment is inflicted on all

Absence from their mosques how punished.

Sepulchres esteemed sanctuaries.

[a] History of Barbary, p. 361. St. Olon, ubi supra, p. 59. Mouette State of Morocco, cap. 1.

(G) These sanctified beasts are easily distinguished by the beads and other relics and ornaments about their necks, which are commonly some verses out of the Koran, upon parchment or paper, and sewn in a piece of rich silk or brocade. If their owners are not in a capacity of keeping them, they procure them a maintenance from the revenue of the mosque, or parish, they belong to; and there never want some devotees, who take a singular pleasure in visiting and feeding them.

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those that are caught playing at any chance game, or for any money, except a mere trifle by way of diversion. They suffer neither Jews nor Christians to enter their mosques, or to have any carnal conversation with their women; and if any of them are found guilty of either, they must either turn Mohammedans, or be burned or impaled alive. They have one settled maxim among them, which is religiously observed by all, from the highest to the lowest; viz. not to keep faith with infidels; in consequence of which they make no conscience to lie, forswear, and violate the most solemn engagements. We may safely affirm, that there is hardly a more rapacious or faithless court and ministry than that of Morocco; nor a more cheating and perfidious people than the subjects of that empire. To close up this article of their religion, they are exact observers of the superstitious part of their law, beyond all other Mohammedans in Barbary, and especially of their Ramadan, or Lent, which is kept with such strictness that they will not, during that whole month, taste one drop of coffee, or a whiff of tobacco, from two hours before sun-rising till after it is set, much less will they touch any other victuals or refreshment. Their children are so enured to the same abstinence, that it becomes natural to them; their very corsairs, though the basest villains under the sun, will keep this long fast on ship-board; and if a renegado is found to neglect it, he is punished with one or two hundred bastinadoes on the soles of his feet.

Their faithlessness how palliated.

Strict observers of Lent.

Their punishments are much the same as those we have already described as inflicted in other parts of Barbary, except with regard to such as flow from the arbitrary sentence of their monarchs; such as sawing in sunder, either length or cross-wise; burning by slow fires, and other torments which they seem to delight in, to the reproach of human nature; especially considering how often the most cruel of them fall upon the innocent, and are the sudden effects of jealousy, revenge, drunkenness, or disappointment. The renegadoes are here likewise punished with fire, being stripped naked, anointed all over with tallow, and having a chain fastened to their loins, they are dragged from prison to the place of execution, and there burned. Jews who debase the coin, or wrong the king, and slaves that attempt to run away, are likewise punished with greater severity here than in any other parts of Barbary.

Punishments.

[b] St. Olan, p. 51, & seq. Monette, ubi supra, cap. 1. Braithwait, p. 362, & seq. History of Barbary, p. 362.

The

Customs, &c.

The dress, customs, marriages, burials, food, drink, baths, and houses, having nothing particularly worth notice, we shall refer our readers to the general account we shall give of them in a subsequent chapter. Only one peculiar custom we cannot help mentioning: it is reckoned so shameful a thing for a man to make water in a standing posture, that those found guilty of it are excluded from being evidence in any trial. Any drop of their urine falling upon their cloaths, is esteemed a legal defilement, they are therefore very careful to squat down, like the females [g]. The women have likewise a strange superstitious custom when in labour: they send to the school for five little boys, four of whom are employed in holding the four corners of a cloth, in each of which is an egg tied, running with it through the streets, and singing some prayers, alternately, the Moors coming out of their houses, with bottles, or pitchers full of water, which they throw into the middle of the cloth; by which means the woman expects to be more easily and quickly delivered.

Language. Modern Arabic.

The language of this country is the Arabesk, or modern Arabic, spoken not only in towns and cities, but in all the villages, adowars, tents, and mountains of this empire; nay, those western Barbary Moors are understood all over the Turkish dominions; the Turks, Moors, Algerines, Tunisans, Tripolitans, Fezans, and Moroccans, understand one another perfectly well [h].

Some laudable customs among them.

Notwithstanding all we have said to the prejudice of their national character, these people are not absolutely without some good qualities. They cannot be too much commended for the great regard they pay to the name of God; and that great abhorrence which they bear to the impious custom, so much in vogue among Christians, of swearing upon the most trivial subjects. They never suffer their quarrels and contests with each other, to transport them so far as to come to blows, and much less to stab and murder one another, as is too common in Christian countries. They never kill but in war; their religion allowing of no pardon for murder: and it is with the utmost reluctancy that they engage in battle against those that are of their own religion.

Respect to parents.

Their respect and obedience to their parents, and superiors, is no less exemplary and praise-worthy. They are extremely jealous of the honour of their wives, and impatient of the least blemish or suspicion that is cast upon it. They are distinguished by their extraordinary loy-

[g] St. Olan, p. 53. Braith. p. 364—368. [h] Braithw. p. 371.

alty

alty to their princes; and their singular zeal and bravery in defence of their country. They are moreover very moderate in their eating; and drinking wine and other intoxicating liquors, is forbidden by their law: and though many even of their great men indulge themselves in drinking them privately; yet those persons that abstain from them, and regale themselves only with sherbet, coffee, and such sober beverage, are the most esteemed. Even in their licensed houses for wine and brandy, if any Mahommedan is proved to have drank to excess, not only he, but the retailer, is severely punished, either by fine or bastinado; and the kadi's officers come and stave all their vessels. They have indeed a succedaneum at hand, in their opium, which hath all the exhilirating and even intoxicating qualities of wine and spirits.

Sobriety.

Use of opium.

Their visits are commonly short; and the person visited only treats with coffee or sherbet and a pipe of tobacco, unless on particular occasions. The women have their particular apartments, where they receive their female visitors, and from which the husbands are excluded.

With respect to the policy of the government, they have one maxim which we have lately hinted at, and which several eminent civilians have wished was universally observed, which is, that though they are at war with almost all the Christians, they nevertheless permit their consuls and merchants to reside in their ports unmolested, and will trade with any vessel, of what nation soever, for what commodities they stand in need of, and suffer every trader to live with them in as much security as in time of peace. It is, indeed, the emperor's interest to suffer his subjects to carry on a piratical war with Christian nations; because it brings him a considerable income, without putting him to any charge; for, besides the tenth of all the cargoes of the prizes, he hath all the captives to himself. But as the foreign commerce is likewise a considerable branch of his revenue, it is no bad policy in him to preserve and encourage it for the sake of the large duty which he lays on all imports and exports; especially as this last is a great promoter of the inland trade, by caravans; whilst the subjects of Christian princes, though at war with him, find their account in making use of this liberty and encouragement of trading unmolested in his dominions. Another political maxim which the emperors of Morocco are obliged to observe, is at any rate to keep in friendship with the states of Tunis, Tripoly, and Algiers, but more particularly with the latter, not only as

Encourage free trade with powers at war.

Emperor at no charge for shipping.

Obliged to keep fair with Algiers, Tunis, &c.

as the most powerful and warlike, but as being their strongest barrier against the Othman Porte. The necessity of this policy will be best understood from their history, which we are now going to particularise.

SECT. III.

History of the Sharifs or Emperors of Morocco.

History of Morocco under the Saracens.

THIS country having continued about four centuries under the Roman yoke, from the invasion of J. Cæsar, to the declension of the empire, fell immediately under the Goths, who crossed over from Spain, and made an easy conquest of all those provinces, whose inhabitants rather chose to submit to them than make their captivity harder by fighting for their old oppressors. This new government lasted only till about the year 600, when the Saracens, a nation no less furious than the Vandals, tyrannized over them in their turn, till they were driven out by the Arabians, who, besides their natural ferocity, burning with a fiery zeal to propagate Mohammedism every where by force of arms, over-ran this whole country, obliging the inhabitants to submit to their religion as well as government. From this epocha Africa took a different face, and was divided into variety of kingdoms under divers princes, who, by frequent dissensions and hostilities against each other, caused those strange alterations and incidents which raised at length the family of the Almoravides to the sovereignty [a]. Yusef, the second monarch of that line, was the person who built the city of Morocco, and conquered the kingdom of Fez, and the Moorish dominions in Spain. All which, together with the sovereignty, were lost by his grandson Albo Hali, the same who caused the works of Avicenna to be compiled by a set of Arabian doctors. This prince having been defeated and killed in Spain, the crown passed to the Moheadins, or Almohedes, by the defeat and tragical end of his son Abraham. It had continued in this line above three generations before Mohammed, the son of Al Mansur, a prince no less worthy of the crown than his father, lost the famous battle of Sierra Morena, in which twenty thousand Moors were slain, a disaster attended by the loss of several Spanish conquests.

Morocco built.

The Almohedes defeated in Spain.

Mohammed left several sons, whose mutual feuds ended in a bloody war, during which the viceroys of Fez,

[a] A. D. 1068.

Tunis,

Tunis, and Tremecen found means to ſhake off the yoke, and ſtrengthen themſelves ſo well in their reſpective governments, that none of his deſcendents could afterwards reduce them. One of the princes of the royal blood of Tremecen having put to death Cezed, or Ceyed, one of Mohammed's grandſons, and defeated all the Almohedes, gave his government a kind of new form, and ſettled himſelf at the head of it; ſoon after which event Abda'llah, of the family of the Merini, having made himſelf maſter of the kingdoms of Morocco and Fez, intailed thoſe two crowns on his family. Some of his ſucceſſors, having choſen the latter for their royal reſidence, contented themſelves with ſending their viceroys to the former; who, by their cruel extortions, almoſt unpeopled that great metropolis. Theſe Merini, or Benimerini, were ouſted in their turn by the Oatazes, or Beni Oatazes; who by their ill conduct and government, joined to the wars which Don Manuel, king of Portugal, had been ſucceſsfully waging againſt the Moors for a conſiderable number of years, gave a handle to the old ſharif Haſcen and his ſons to drive them from the throne, and make themſelves maſters of it; and their deſcendents have poſſeſſed it ever ſince that period [b].

The Merini ouſted by the Oatazes.

This is a ſufficient narrative of the revolutions which have happened in this part of Barbary from the expulſion of the Vandals out of Africa, to the time in which the ſharifs began to lay the foundation of this new empire; at attempt ſo deeply laid, and ſo ſtrenuouſly as well as ſucceſsfully purſued, that a curious reader will hardly think it inconſiſtent with our deſigned brevity to be acquainted with their original, and the various means which thoſe conſummate politicians made uſe of, to accompliſh their aim.

Empire of Morocco founded by Haſcen.

Haſcen, Haſſan, or Haſſen, pretending to be of the race of the ſharifs, a title affected by the deſcendents of Mohammed, was a native of the city of Tigumedet, in the province of Dhara, and firſt projector of this plan. He had already acquired ſuch reputation for wiſdom, learning, and ſanctity, whilſt this country was torn in pieces by inteſtine jars, and a bloody war againſt the Portugueſe, that he was looked upon as the oracle of his time. He had three ſons grown up to manhood, namely,

[b] Grammay, lib. ix. cap. 1, & ſeq. Marmol, lib. ii. paſſ. Dieg. de Torres, Relat. de los Xerifes. Mouquet, Boulet, Empire des Cherifs, Paris, 1733. Hiſt. Barbary, Lond. 1750. p. 319, & ſeq.

Abdelquibir, Hammed, and Mohammed, whom he ſent on a pilgrimage to Mecca; during which they behaved with ſuch circumſpection and ſeeming piety, that, upon their return, the people came in crouds to kiſs the hems of their garments. Both Haſcen and they pretended to extatic viſions and revelations, and an extraordinary zeal for the Mohammedan law, and as ſuch were looked upon as ſent by heaven to be the defenders of it. The two youngeſt of them, the old ſharif, who moved all this ſcene as it were behind the curtain, ſent to Mohammed Dalaz, king of Fez, where they ſo far inſinuated themſelves with that credulous prince, that he immediately raiſed Hammed, the elder of the two, to the profeſſor's chair, and entruſted the youngeſt with the education of his ſons; ſoon after which marks of favour, they as eaſily obtained from him the government of the provinces of Sus, Morocco, Hea, Tremecen, and Ducata. His brother Muley Nacer, a perſon of much deeper diſcernment, who could far better penetrate into their ſiniſter views, tried indeed, by all proper means, to alarm him againſt putting ſo great a confidence in theſe two artful hypocrites rather than in his own tried nobles and officers. All his remonſtrances proved vain, and the two brothers haſtened their departure to the province of Ducata, in the kingdom of Morocco, where they had a great number of friends. There, without having ever made any trial of their martial genius, they attempted at once the ſiege of Saffi, then in the hands of, and ſtrongly guarded by, the Portugueſe: finding the place too ſtrong for them, they proceeded to Cape Aguer, in the kingdom of Sus, where they made ſome ſucceſsful inroads againſt the Portugueſe; by which means, as well as by their affected ſanctity and zeal againſt thoſe enemies of their law, and the ſtrict diſcipline they maintained among their troops, they gained ſo far the eſteem and confidence of the Moors, that when they were juſt upon the point of diſbanding their troops, for want of proper remittances from court, the people immediately agreed to pay them the tenths of all their income, to help to maintain the ſoldiers. Among others, the inhabitants of Tarudant and Fedſi ſignalized their attachment to them, by chuſing old Haſcen, their father, for their chief, and aſſigned him a regiment of five hundred horſe, with a proportionable ſtipend, to enable him to defend them from the frequent incurſions of the Arabs, by whom theſe and other cities were greatly impoveriſhed. In the firſt of theſe places Mohammed,

Mohammed, the most active and enterprising of all his sons, having built the fortress of Saragza, and obtained a new commission and supply, led his forces against the city of Mezoar, whose inhabitants had sided with the Portuguese, and made himself master of that and the whole province of Dhara, then in their possession[c]. These successes raised their reputation to such a height, that not only the king of Fez and his subjects, but all the Moors in general, congratulated themselves upon it, and began to entertain the greatest prospects from three such successful, wise, and zealous warriors. Muley Nacer alone, who penetrated through their perfidious views, secretly bewailed the evils which he was unable to prevent, whilst those consummate hypocrites, under pretence of assisting the other provinces against the Christians, made themselves masters of Hea, Ducata, and Tremecen: the city of Tednett, capital of Hea, the only place that ventured to oppose them, was quickly forced to submit; and Mohammed immediately caused it to be well fortified, built himself a sumptuous palace in it, and took upon himself the title of prince of Hea.

Sharif Mohammed's success.

Mean while the continual inroads which he made against the Berebers and Arabs in the Portuguese service, obliged Yajay Ben Taful, one of their tributary princes, to call in Nugno Fernandes, governor of Safi, to his assistance. These two having formed a small army of four hundred Spanish horse, three thousand Moors, and eight thousand Arabs, marched directly to Tednett, in hopes to surprise that important place. But Mohammed had timely intelligence of their coming; and trusting more to his fortune than his forces, went out to meet them at the head of four thousand horse. At the distance of three miles from the city, he saw the enemy's vanguard commanded by Yajay, who, without waiting for the rest, fell immediately upon him, and put his troops to flight. Being thus unexpectedly repulsed, and not daring to return into Tednett for fear of being besieged in it, he saw himself obliged to abandon that city to his pursuers, who immediately entered it, but found that the inhabitants, who were wholly devoted to sharif Mohammed, had also forsaken it, and had betaken themselves to the adjacent mountains. The victors, having with ease reduced all the adjacent country, returned to their respective homes. They had not been gone long, before Mohammed, in order to repair his loss, sent for his bro-

Mohammed defeated by the Portuguese, &c.

[c] Marmol, lib. ii. cap. ult. & auct. supra citat.

ther Hammed, who joined him at the head of a powerful army; and these two taking the advantage of an uproar that had been raised in Tednett, easily got possession of it again.

A.D.1516. *Old Hascen dies.*

To this high pitch of power and reputation had the sharifs arrived, when Hascen, their father, died, about which time the Portuguese were besieging the city of Anega; upon which the three brothers, his sons, marched with a powerful succour to its relief. A bloody fight ensued, in which Abdelquibir, the eldest of them, but the least active and warlike, was slain; but Mohammed and Hammed gained the victory, and took Lopez Barriga, the Portuguese commander, prisoner, and with him a good number of other officers of the same nation. Some years after this exploit, they formed the design of making themselves masters of the city of Morocco, which, with only a small territory about it, belonged to a prince of Cyd Heneti, named Nazer Buxentuf; and to avoid the length and uncertainty of a siege, agreed, if possible, to obtain the place by treachery. Buxentuf was easily captivated by their flattery and vast promises, and received them into it with all the marks of honour. They soon insinuated themselves into the esteem and confidence of the inhabitants by the same artful treachery, and no sooner found them firmly devoted to them, than they caused Buxentuf to be poisoned at a hunting match, without being the least suspected. Hammed found no difficulty to get himself proclaimed king in his stead by the inhabitants, in prejudice to the deceased's children; upon whom, however, to avoid all suspicion, he bestowed some considerable lands and governments in the remote provinces: but not thinking himself yet sufficiently strong to pull off the mask, he thought fit to send a sumptuous embassy to the king of Fez, accompanied with vast presents, and the assurances of an entire submission, and a yearly tribute, which met with a ready acceptance from that weak prince[d].

Mohammed defeats the Portuguese.

Takes Morocco.

It was not long, however, before an opportunity presented itself to the two brothers, which at once enabled them to throw off the disguise, and to render themselves more powerful than ever. Two considerable adowars of the Arabs, in the province of Ducata, were at war with each other, and both had applied to them for assistance, and received a promise of succour. Hammed and Mohammed marched accordingly out of Morocco at the head

d Grammay, Marmol, & al. ubi supra.

of

of a powerful army; at sight of which the two Arabian chiefs fell furiously on each other, each in full confidence that he would be joined by the sharifs; but these stood as unconcerned spectators, till their forces on both sides being nearly exhausted, they immediately rushed upon them, and cut all the remainder in pieces; and seizing upon all their arms, horses, and warlike stores, returned to Morocco in triumph. Immediately after this open act of treachery, Hammed, resolving to give the Fezian monarch to understand, that he did not design to continue his tribute and submission any longer, contented himself with sending him twelve of the very worst horses and camels he had lately gained (A), together with some plausible excuses, by which that monarch began to be sensible of his own weakness when it was too late. He expressed his resentment in some severe menaces; but his treacherous vassal, who knew that this was all he could do against him, regarded them accordingly. Mohammed Oataz died soon after of grief, as it is supposed, and was succeeded by his son Hammed Oataz, who having been educated under Mohammed, the youngest of the three sharifs, whether he retained any real regard for him on that account, or, which is more probable, for want of sufficient power to punish the perfidy of his elder brother, let him know, that he would be contented with a small yearly tribute from him. This ill-timed condescension easily convinced Hammed, that he had nothing to fear from that side: however, to prevent coming to an open rupture with him, he sent him word, that, being descended from their great prophet, it was neither lawful nor honourable to pay tribute to any prince whatever; and that, if he thought fit to treat him as a friend, he would always preserve a grateful remembrance of the favours which he had received from his father and him; but that, if he went about to obstruct him in the wars which he was waging against the Christians, he could expect nothing less than some grievous punishment from God and his prophet, for his impiety; and that, as for himself, he neither wanted courage nor strength to repel force by force[e]. A.D.1529.

[e] Iidem, ibid.

(A) The tribute which Hammed had engaged to pay to that monarch, ever since he was become master of Morocco, was the fifth part of all the horses, camels, prisoners, arms, and ammunition, that he took in war.

Hammed styles himself king of Sus.

All this while his brother Mohammed, whom he had made governor of the kingdom of Sus, had been fortifying and embellishing the city of Tarudant: but having lately made an unfortunate attempt against the Portuguese at Capo Aguer, found himself obliged to abandon Tarudant. The king of Fez, provoked at the insolence and success of the two brothers, resolved to lay siege to their capital of Morocco; but, being repulsed by the garrison, was forced shamefully to abandon the enterprize. Hammed pursued him with such speed, that he cut the greatest part of his rear in pieces, and obliged the province of Escure to pay him the tribute which they were compelled to pay to the Fezian kings. Oataz meanwhile was employed in quelling a rebellion which a brother of his had raised against him; this he had no sooner accomplished than he raised a more powerful army than his first, with full resolution to exterminate, if possible, the two sharifs and their forces, and marched at the head of them to the banks of the River of the Negroes, near the town of Buacaba, where the enemy was already posted. Here the two armies met; and though that of the Fezians was by much the stronger, yet they continued three whole days, one on one side the river and the other on the other, without proceeding to hostilities. At length Oataz having given the command of his vanguard to his son Mohammed, assisted by Abdala Zoboibi, the refugee king of Granada, who had been driven out of his dominions by the Spaniards; and that of his main body to his brother-in-law Muley Dris, or Idris, reserving to himself that of the rear, which consisted of the noblest and bravest persons of his kingdom, Zoboibi immediately crossed the river, and stood firm with his troops to facilitate the coming over of the cavalry. The two sharifs, who had divided their forces into two bodies, fell upon him with such fury, that they drove him back into the river; where the king's forces, being entangled with each other, could neither come over nor fight. The king, who beheld this confusion from the opposite shore, did what he could to encourage them; but, not being able to prevent their betaking themselves to a shameful flight, was forced to fly after them, leaving all his cannon, tents, baggage, and wives. His son, and the Granadan king lost their lives. The victorious sharifs, marching over a branch of mount Atlas, went and besieged Taphilet with the artillery they had taken from the Fezian monarch; and in a few days made themselves masters of that capital, with its large territory;

ritory; from thence they extended their conquests over all those mountainous parts, and obliged the inhabitants to become their tributaries; by which means they prevented that unfortunate prince receiving any farther assistance from that district. This necessity obliged him, both by way of reprisal, and in order to support the shattered remains of his army, to send them in two bodies to raise contributions in the province of Sus; but here also they were repelled by the superior forces of Mohammed.

A.D. 1536.

Mohammed makes himself master of Aguer.

This last, flushed with success, resolved soon after to take the strong fortress of Aguer, situate on the cape of its name, which was occupied by a strong Portuguese garrison. After a vigorous defence, he made himself master of it, but lost sixteen thousand men before it; in revenge of which loss he put the whole garrison to the sword, except the brave Mont Roy, the governor, to whom he gave a kind reception, rather on account of his beautiful daughter Donna Mencia, than for his valour or merit (B).

The reduction of this place so intimidated all the Moors and Arabs of those parts, that such as were in alliance, or under tribute to the king of Portugal, came over to the conqueror; and that prince, finding that the towns which he held on the Atlantic, cost him more to keep than they were worth, ordered them to be forthwith dismantled and abandoned. Thus our young sharif easily became master of Saffi, Arzilla, Azamor, and Alcassar-ceguir; after which acquisitions, he no longer scrupled to take the royal title and ensigns, and to raise himself above his

Hammed takes Saffi, Arzilla, &c.

(B) This young lady, no less admirable for her virtue than her beauty, having rejected with scorn all the caresses and offers of the enamoured Mohammed, and even his promise of marriage to her, was just upon the point to be delivered up to the brutish lust of his Moors, by the exasperated conqueror. The horror of such a dreadful doom soon determined her to capitulate, and to consent to the marriage, upon condition that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion, and be regarded as his lawful wife.

Mohammed made no scruple to consent to these conditions, and married her accordingly: but his other wives, exasperated at the preference which he shewed to the young Portuguese lady above them, found means to poison her in her first pregnancy; soon after which, to shew his grief and tender regard for her, he restored her father to his liberty, and sent him home laden with presents (1).

(1) D. de Torres, Relat. de los Xerifes, lib. i. Boulet, Hist. des Cherifs, ibid. Marmol, lib. ii. cap. ult.

brother Hammed, whom he now exceeded as much in power as he had all along surpassed him in valour and policy. This behaviour failed not to cause a most dangerous rupture between them; which, in spite of all the remonstrances of Cid Arrahal, an alfaki of great sense and probity, ended in an open war [f].

Mohammed, however, wisely forbore all kind of hostilities till he was attacked by his brother; and till then contented himself with apprising the great officers of his army of Hammed's treachery and ingratitude. He now gave them such an account of his own actions and behaviour, as he knew would most effectually incline them to his side; and, putting his hand to his beard, assured them, that they should see, in a few days, that haughty and perfidious Hammed vanquished and made his prisoner.

Mohammed having sent part of his army before, under the command of one of his best officers, to secure a pass on the south side of mount Atlas, leading from Tarudant to Morocco, Hammed, who had been apprized of it, marched his army on the opposite side. He had given the command of his vanguard to Muley Nacer, his second son; who, being overtaken in a narrow defile by Harran the son of Mohammed, a prince already experienced in war, a bloody skirmish soon ensued, which was followed by an engagement of both armies, in which that of Hammed was defeated, with the loss of eight thousand men, and himself and Buhanzen, another of his sons, were taken prisoners. Upon this overthrow, Muley Zidan, another of his sons, who had happily escaped, and thrown himself, with the small remains of his army, into the city of Morocco, proposed at first, in a fit of despair, to apply to Charles V. for assistance; but was dissuaded by his friends, from taking a step that would have rendered him odious to all the Africans, and might, perhaps, engage them to join all their forces against him. At length, by the strenuous interposition of his own daughter, who was then married to prince Harvan, Mohammed's eldest son, and of some of the greatest men on both sides, a partition treaty was concluded between the two brothers, in which it was agreed, that Mohammed should possess the kingdom of Sus, and all the provinces on the south-side of mount Atlas, together with Numidia and Lybia, and be paid one half of the vast treasure, which Hascen, their father, had left to them;

Hammed and his son taken prisoners.

[f] Grammay, Marmol, & al. ubi supra.

and

and that Harran, his eldeſt ſon, ſhould be declared heir to both kingdoms, and after him Muley Zidan, according to their father's laſt will. Hammed, being ſet at liberty in virtue of this treaty, had no ſooner reached his capital of Morocco, than he abſolutely refuſed to ratify it, as prejudicial to his eldeſt ſon, and began to make great preparations for renewing the war. Mohammed marched directly with his army towards Morocco, and was met by his brother's forces at Quehera, about ſeven or eight miles ſhort of that capital. Both armies engaged with unuſual fierceneſs; but, whilſt that of Hammed was employed in diſengaging the royal ſtandard, which had accidentally intangled itſelf in a thicket, Mohammed charged them with ſuch ſurpriſing ſpeed, that he put them to the rout, and purſued them all the remainder of that day, and the following night, and found himſelf next morning within ſight of Morocco. He immediately ſummoned it to ſurrender, and cauſed a report to be ſpread, that Hammed had been killed in the laſt action; upon hearing of which, Gihani, who was left governor of the city, afraid of incurring the diſpleaſure of the conqueror, delivered it up to him, together with all the garriſon, arms, treaſury, and ſeraglio of his brother. Mohammed, upon this occaſion, ſhewed an extraordinary moderation, and forbore laying his hands either on his treaſury, or on the effects of the inhabitants; but this moderation did not hinder the timid Hammed from miſtruſting him; and, inſtead of endeavouring to treat with him, he ſent his two ſons to the king of Fez, to beg his aſſiſtance againſt his brother. Oataz, who thought this a fair opportunity to recover ſome of his loſt provinces, readily engaged to ſend him a powerful ſuccour, with all poſſible expedition; but Mohammed, who foreſaw how prejudicial ſuch an alliance might prove to them both, choſe rather to perſuade him to come to a new compoſition, and eaſily brought him to agree to break off his alliance with the Fezian king.

A.D. 1543.

Hammed refuſes to ſtand to the treaty.

Morocco ſurrenders to Mohammed.

In this ſecond interview, which was under a large pavillion, where Mohammed was ſeated on a ſtately throne, the vanquiſhed Hammed was conducted by his two nephews, and ſtood ſome time before his brother, in a kind of gloomy ſilence. Mohammed, taking him by the hand, cauſed him to ſit down by him, and made him a moſt pathetic ſpeech, intermixed with ſevere reproaches, and marks of brotherly affection; wherein he told him, among other things, that he muſt blame his own unnatural perfidy to a faithful and affectionate brother, if Providence had now delivered

delivered him up to the mercy of the man whom he had lately treated as a mortal enemy, and would, if he had got him into his power, have used him with the utmost cruelty.

Mohammed's artful speech.

"But (added he) though I have great reason to be offended at your ungrateful behaviour; yet I cannot forbear looking upon you as my brother, as well as my prisoner, and as such am willing to give you an opportunity of repairing the injuries you have done me, and retrieving your honour and royalty. Restore but to me your brotherly affection and confidence, and I will promise to restore to you your own dominions, and with them my zeal and allegiance, and will be content to obey you in the quality of your grand vizier. One thing only I must beg of you, that you will retire, with your whole houshold, for some time, to the province of Taphilet, that I may acquit myself of my promise to the inhabitants of your metropolis, and free them from the dread they are in of your resentment, for having so easily opened their gates to me. As for the wrong you complain to be done to your children, in yielding the succession of the kingdom to mine, according to our father's last will, you may assure yourself, that as soon as you and I join forces, and act in concert together for the interest of our religion, we shall not want for new conquests sufficient to make up that loss to them; and that I shall make it my chief glory, to give them fresh opportunities of displaying their merit, and advancing their fortune." Hammed seemed deeply affected with this speech; which he answered by some feigned excuses for his past behaviour, and promises of behaving better for the future, and next morning departed with his retinue and family to the kingdom of Taphilet[g]. Mohammed, having thus far succeeded in all his views, began to think on some pretence for declaring war against the king of Fez, whom he looked upon as not only an enemy, but as an eclipser of his glory, on account of his boasted long series of royal ancestors. He therefore sent to demand of him the restitution of the province of Tedla, which belonged to the kingdom of Morocco, of which he was now possessed. Receiving an absolute denial, he raised a powerful force, and laid siege to the castle on the frontiers of Fez, but was quickly forced to raise it; partly by the bravery of Onzar, who commanded it, and partly on account of the approach of the Fezian army, who, with Oataz at their head, were in full march against him. It

Projects a war against the king of Fez.

g Marmol, Grammay, & al. sup. citat.

consisted

consisted of thirty thousand men, among whom were the chief nobility of his kingdom, Velles, and Dubdu; besides some Arabian cheyks, at the head of their troops; eight hundred Turks, commanded by a Persian; and one thousand archers, on horseback.

Mohammed's army consisted of eighteen thousand choice troops, and about twelve hundred archers; nevertheless, trusting partly to his own good fortune, and partly to the inconstancy of the Arabs and Fezians, he marched by slow journies towards Oataz; and had the pleasure to hear, from day to day, that the Fezian army continued to decrease, either by the desertion of his own subjects, or the retreat of some of his allies. This defection obliged that prince to engage him as soon as he could; Mohammed perceiving his drift, reminded his troops of the great consequence of this present action, which, if crowned with victory, would infallibly open a way to them for the reduction of all Barbary. As he led them to the onset, he farther assured them, that not a man of them should fall except a Negro, and that the king of Fez would be taken prisoner; all which circumstances he told them he knew by his skill in magic art Having given express orders to his troops not to stir till the signal should be made, Oataz followed his example in this particular. Mohammed waiting till the declining sun shone full in the eyes of the enemy, gave the signal for the onset. Both sides engaged with equal ardor, till Mohammed's center, where he commanded, opening to the right and left, discovered a battery of cannon behind the ranks; which, as soon as it began to play, spread such an universal panic among the Fezians, that they betook themselves to flight. The king himself was hurried away by his own officers, but in his flight had the misfortune, wounded as he already was, to fall off his horse and to be taken prisoner, and brought bound to Mohammed (C).

Oataz taken prisoner.

After

(C) As soon as Mohammed saw the unfortunate Oataz brought prisoner before him, he addressed himself to him in words to this effect: "Though fortune hath now made you my prisoner, yet the remembrance that I was once your tutor, inclines me rather to give you, as I was wont formerly to do, some useful lessons, rather of tenderness than resentment. You cannot, indeed, be blamed for any thing but the neglect of punishing a great variety of atrocious crimes, which your subjects commit with impunity in your metropolis, once so famous for religion and learning, but now the

After this victory Mohammed, by the consent of his royal prisoner, marched directly to Fez, where they both supposed

the sink of impiety and every kind of vice. But since you had not the courage to make use of the authority which God had entrusted you with, to suppress these enormities; if you see yourself now deprived of all your royalty, do not imagine me to be the author of it, but think rather that it is God himself, who hath fought on my side against you, and that your defeat is wholly his own work.

"Great kings are seldom able to see truth but through mists and clouds, or to receive wholesome counsels, till some misfortunes oblige them to open their eyes. It is, therefore, to render you more obedient to his voice, that he hath brought you to this low estate; and now enjoins you, by my mouth, to restore religion, arts, and sciences to their ancient splendor; by punishing those who are enemies to them, and whom you have hitherto tolerated within your dominions. As for me, do not think that I will take any advantage of your present ill fortune; for though I have just cause to resent the assistance which you offered to my brother against me, yet I know as well how to forgive as to revenge an injury. Be therefore of good courage, and depend upon it that it will not be long ere you are restored to your dominions."

Oataz having heard him with great patience, is said to have made the following bold and sensible reply. "I can hardly believe that you took up arms against me merely to give me this lesson. However, since you give it me as a master, I will receive it rather as a disciple than a prisoner; and in hopes that my answer may prove as useful to you as you think your advice is to me, I shall readily own, that many abuses and irregularities may be introduced in a state, which is not in the power of a monarch to foresee, or redress; but granting that those you charge me with were ever so great and enormous, and entirely owing to my neglect, doth it belong to such a man as you to take the punishment of my misconduct upon yourself? You, whom my father, at my request, raised from the vile employment of a schoolmaster to the height of credit and fortune? Is it for you, upon whom I myself have heaped the greatest favours, to repay me now with the blackest ingratitude; and this under the specious cloak of virtue and religion? But to avoid saying any thing that may expose the unparalleled dissimulation you are so great a master of to those that hear us, be persuaded rather that Providence has now delivered me up into your power, to try what use you will make of your victory; and whether, after you have violated the most solemn treaties, and broken the most sacred ties of allegiance and gratitude, your heart can be

ſuppoſed the inhabitants would readily yield him the province of Mequinez as a ranſom for their king. They had approached within two leagues of that metropolis, when they received news that the Fezians, to whom Muley Nacer, one of the king's ſons, had fled immediately after the battle, had raiſed him to the crown, on condition that he ſhould ſurrender it to his father as ſoon as he had regained his liberty. Oataz thereupon ſent his ſon orders, that Mequinez ſhould be ſurrendered to the ſharif, as the only ranſom he would accept of; to whom Nacer anſwered, that he was ready to comply with it, but required a longer time to diſpoſe the council to an agreement. This propoſal he made only to gain time, till he could make himſelf maſter of the Honguy, and by theſe means hinder the ſharif's retreat, he himſelf deſigning to ſurpriſe his camp in the night. Mohammed, who had notice of his deſign time enough to prevent it, marched with the utmoſt ſpeed to the walls of the capital; where, having ſeized upon two hundred citizens, who were walking along the walls, without ſuſpicion or fear, he cauſed them to be ſtrangled in his ſight. Then taking his two royal priſoners with him, he cauſed them to be led in chains to Morocco, and ſent his two ſons, Harran and Abdel Cader, with a powerful army, to ravage all the territories about Fez.

Oataz ranſomed

Muley Nacer wiſely foreſeeing, that the longer he delayed his father's ranſom, the more difficulty he ſhould find to content an enemy who daily gained ground of him,

be capable of relenting. Since you have gone ſo far to make me ſenſible of my duty, let us now ſee how well you can perform your own, and whether you can perceive how far the inconſtancy of fortune hath made us ſtand in need of each other. As for your complaint of my aſſiſting your brother againſt you, I diſdain to juſtify an action ſo laudable in itſelf, and which ought only to make you ſenſible how ready I ſhould have been to have done the ſame by you, had you been in his caſe." This ſevere anſwer was received by the artful ſharif with a ſmiling countenance: but, to avoid all farther replies on either ſide, he ordered the king, out of a pretended regard to his wounds, to be conducted into a ſtately tent next to his own, where that monarch had the mortification to hear, that Abn' Onzar, to whom he had committed the government of the fortreſs of Fixtela, was come to deliver the keys of it to his adverſary (1).

(1) De Torres, Marmol, Boulet, ubi ſup.

began

began immediately a negociation with his two ſons, and ſoon after put them in poſſeſſion of Mequinez; but their father, who pretended to know nothing of this new treaty, abſolutely refuſed to ratify it, unleſs Oataz would engage to ſurrender the city of Fez whenever he ſhould think fit to demand it of him; to which harſh article the unfortunate monarch was forced to agree, though it gave his enemy a ſpecious pretence of renewing the war againſt him whenever he pleaſed. Oataz having upon theſe hard terms obtained his liberty, returned directly to his own capital, where his ſons, upon his arrival, readily reſigned the reins of government.

A.D. 1549.

Beſieges Fez.

Mohammed had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the country of Mequinez, than he came back to demand the ſurrender of the city of Fez, according to the late treaty. Oataz, in the utmoſt perplexity, anſwered, that it was out of his power to oblige the inhabitants, ſcarcely recovered of their fright at the dreadful ſlaughter he had lately made of them, to open their gates, or to ſuffer him to enter their city; upon which refuſal the impatient ſharif ordered his two ſons to join him with a powerful army, and encamped before the place[h].

Hammed ſends a ſuccour to it.

In the mean time his brother Hammed, having broke his promiſe a ſecond time, had ſent a powerful ſuccour to the Fezian king, under the command of his eldeſt ſon Muley Zidan. The two armies met, and a long and deſperate engagement enſued, in which, though neither party could claim the victory, yet Zidan exhibited ſuch marks of valour and conduct, that the Fezian king began to look upon him as the chief prop of his crown. The favour he ſhewed him ufortunately raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of jealouſy between his own ſons and that brave young hero, that he retired in diſcontent to Taphilet, where his father ſtill reſided. Mohammed ſtill proſecuted the ſiege of Fez, though it advanced ſo ſlowly, that he had already lain near two years before it; when the inhabitants, quite exhauſted, found means to treat privately with the ſharif, and, on ſome advantageous conſiderations, agreed to put him in poſſeſſion of the old city. The king, who was in the new city, and had ſome intelligence, or at leaſt ſuſpicion, of this treacherous negociation, ordered his general, Buhanzon, to make a ſally with his cavalry, and endeavour to ſurpriſe the beſiegers camp in the night; but the Fezians immediately acquainted the ſharif with his deſign,

The inhabitants betray it to Mohammed.

[h] Iidem ibid.

who

who caused two ambushes to be laid so effectually, that he was repulsed with great loss, and with only twelve of his men recovered the city, whilst the rest made the best of their way towards Velez.

At length Mohammed, having made himself sure of the inhabitants, approached nearer the walls, and caused a breach to be made, at which he entered sword in hand, and was received with demonstrations of joy by the treacherous citizens, before the king, who was still in New Fez, had any notice of this event. He came out, however, time enough to stop his progress, and might, in all likelihood, have repulsed him, if his troops had been opposed by no other enemy. But whilst both sides were hotly engaged in the streets, one side exclaiming, "Long live the sharif!" and the other, "Long live the Merini!" a new cry was heard above the rest, of "Long live the man that gives us bread!". Upon which men and women ascended to the top of the houses, and threw such vollies of stones on the king's forces, as obliged him to retire to the new city; then Mohammed returned to his camp. Buhanzon, seeing the enemy master of Old Fez, advised the king to fly to Velez, and try to obtain some succour from the Christian princes, who were now highly concerned to put a stop to the sharif's career; but as that step could not be taken without abandoning his mother, wife, and family to the mercy of an exasperated enemy, he rather chose to send Lela Mahabib, the old queen, in the guise of a suppliant, to him, to obtain, by her prayers and tears, the best conditions she could for herself and her unfortunate son, at least such a maintenance as was suitable to his dignity. The tyrant at last agreed to this request, upon condition that her son abandoned the city to him, and departed with his whole family, within three days; which being complied with, he sent the king to Morocco, and his two sons to Tarudant, threw a strong garrison into the city, and having taken possession of the royal palace, espoused the king's daughter. The nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity, in order to give him some colour of a title to that great metropolis, and to the greatest part of the Fezian kingdom, which he now possessed [1].

Oataz forced to sue for a maintenance.

He was no sooner settled in that capital than he sent orders to his brother Hammed to leave Taphilet, and retire to Tagoret, or the country of Taguira, in the desert

Sendshi brother to the desert of Zahara.

[1] Grammay, Marmol, D. Torres, & al. ubi sup.

of

of Zahara. Hammed, to regain, if possible, his confidence, sent his four sons as hostages. But Mohammed sent him back the two eldest, with the same orders, and married the other two to two of his own daughters. Having so far put it out of his power to hurt him, he ordered his own son Abderam, or Habdarraman, to take the government of Taphilet in Hammed's room. Not long after this event Mohammed sent his three other sons, Harran, Abdelcader, and Abdalla, to take the city of Tremecen, which surrendered to them almost upon the first summons. Harran gave the government of it to Abdalla, intending to surprise that of Oran, but was taken ill before he could come near the place, and returned to Fez, where he died. This calamity we may look upon as the beginning of his misfortunes. He was now bereaved of him whom he designed for his successor, not only on account of his primogeniture, but much more of his conduct and bravery. Not long after his death, a rumour being spread that the Algerines were coming, with a powerful force, to retake the city of Tremecen, Mohammed sent his next son thither, with a strong reinforcement; and at the same time dispatched an express to Habdarraman, then at Taphilet, to join his brother with another body. This last obeyed; but a misunderstanding arose between them. The former suspecting nothing of the treachery of the latter, engaged the enemy with his usual valour; but, to his great surprise, Habdarraman, instead of coming to his assistance, stood as an idle spectator, and saw him fight like a person resolved to conquer or die, till he was actually killed, and his brother Abdalla dangerously wounded in the arm. Bahami, the son of the brave Abdelcader, seeing his father and uncle in such imminent danger, went and enquired of Habdaraman, why he did not second them with his forces? but received no other answer from him, than a blow with his back-sword across his arm; upon which he went and complained of him to his grandfather, who, to punish his perfidy, is supposed to have caused him to be privately poisoned[k]. By this time Mohammed, worn out with old age and the fatigues of war, soured by his late ill success, and more by grief for the death of his two sons, became jealous, cruel, and morose; he caused the unhappy king of Fez and his son to be strangled, merely on suspicion that they had encouraged an insurrection in the province

Habdarraman's treachery to his brother.

The king of Fez and his son strangled.

[k] Marmol, lib. ii. cap. ult.

of

of Derenderen, which in fact was owing to his own tyranny and exaction. But these bold mountaineers fought with such fury and intrepidity against his son Abdallah, that he could not, with all his forces, valour, or policy, reduce them to his obedience. The old sharif, provoked that his son should meet with so many repulses, resolved to march against them in person, but had no better success; and was forced to return, without any other atchievement than that of plundering some few of their villages at the bottom of the mountain.

In the mean time the sad catastrophe of the Fezian king had reached the ears of the noble Buhanzon; who, ever since that monarch had declined his advice of asking assistance from the Christian powers against the encroaching sharifs, had retired to the pennon of Velez. This old minister, who was himself of the blood royal, tried in vain to engage the emperor Charles V. and other Christian princes, to restore him to the Fezian crown, promising to become tributary to them, and to deliver up the pennon above mentioned into their hands. Mohammed, being thoroughly acquainted with every step he took, was no less industrious in breaking all his measures, the last of which was a treaty he had made with the king of Portugal, which, instead of answering his sanguine hopes, served only to hasten his ruin. He returned to Africa with the small assistance which he had obtained from that monarch, and no sooner landed his forces at the port of Alhuzomas than he was forced to defend himself against the neighbouring inhabitants, who had taken up arms against him. Whilst he was engaged with them Salh Rays, governor of Algiers under sultan Solyman, attacked his forces at sea, towards sun-set, and continued fighting all that night. Next day Buhanzon expostulated with him for falling thus upon him, whilst he was waging war against the sharif, their common enemy; but was answered, that he was justly punished for begging help of the Christians, instead of applying to Solyman, who had sent Sinan, his admiral, with a powerful fleet to fight against them, and was ready to restore him to his lost dominions. It is not improbable that the Algerine Rays had some private instructions for what he did and said, either from Zidan or the Porte; however that be, it made such an impression on Buhanzon, that he was easily persuaded to join forces with him against the Christians; upon which they both together began to advance towards Fez, whilst the old sharif was taken up in reducing the revolted Derende-

Mohammed marches to secure Fez.

rians. As soon as he heard the danger that threatened his capital, he made all the haste he could towards it at the head of his army, and advancing towards Tezan, on the frontiers of Tremecen, continued there fifty days, expecting the Algerine Rays; who, on his side, advanced by slow marches, in order to avoid the sharif's cavalry, which was sent to scour these roads, and to gain an opportunity of increasing his forces as he marched. But having one day fallen accidentally on Mohammed's rear guard, commanded by his son Abdallah, a desperate fight ensued, in which the young sharif was totally routed, lost all his artillery and ammunition, and was forced to march night and day to reach the city of Fez. Salh Rays, a few days after this action, encamping along the banks of the Cebu, or Cebro, soon obliged him to take the field again, to prevent the surrender of a city (G), in which he knew he had so few real friends[1]. Mohammed therefore was, much against his will, obliged to come forth; but suspecting the Turkish captain of his guard of holding intelligence with Salh Rays, he caused his head to be cut off before he ventured farther; after this execution he sent the Rays word, that he came with full intent to engage him. His adversary's whole army consisted of eighty thousand horse, eight thousand of which he sent to oppose his passage over the river; but they were so briskly cannonaded from the other side, that they were forced to retire, and shelter themselves behind a rising ground, upon which he immediately crossed the river, and having cast up in haste a slight entrenchment, ordered his army to continue in arms all night. Next day both sides prepared for the engagement, in which the Rays at the first gained an advantageous post which Mohammed had been

Defeated, and forced into Fez.

[1] Marmol, Torres, Boulet, &c. ubi supra.

(G) The city of Fez hath, from time immemorial, enjoyed this singular privilege, that it can surrender itself to an enemy, as soon as they are advanced within half a mile of its walls, if the king doth not send another army, or is not strong enough to oppose them. Every monarch, at his coronation, is obliged to ratify this privilege to the Fezians; which, it is supposed, was granted to them by some of its founders, who thought it unreasonable that so considerable a place should be lost out of an ill-timed fidelity to a prince who was not in a condition to defend it (2).

(2) See Marmol, D. de Torres, & al. ubi supra.

possessed

poſſeſſed of, and which proved a kind of omen or prelude to his victory. The Turks reſenting the ignominious death of their captain, and ſeeing a body of renegadoes placed before them, loſt all patience, threw down the ſharif's ſtandard, and fell on the renegadoes and what other troops ſtood before them; whilſt the Fezian troops, diſconcerted at the fire of the enemy's artillery, betook themſelves to flight; upon which all thoſe who were in prince Buhanzon's intereſt, forſook the ſharif, and came over to him. Mohammed immediately ordered his ſon Abdallah to go and force his entrance, if poſſible, into Old Fez, which he, with ſome difficulty effected; and cauſing the artillery of the ramparts to fire upon the enemy, made the Rays ſuſpect that the inhabitants were reſolved to hold out againſt him. He complained bitterly to Buhanzon, who had aſſured him that they were all in his intereſt: upon which that prince, in a fury, took five hundred Janizaries with him, broke one of the city gates open, and entered the place ſword in hand; a circumſtance which obliged Abdallah to retire into New Fez, to which his father had already retreated. Mohammed perceiving it would be impoſſible to hold out againſt the victor, ordered his wives and houſhold to get on horſeback, and take with them their moſt valuable effects; and arming himſelf only with his ſword and ſhield, haſted with them to a place of ſafety, whilſt Budcar, one of his captains, guarded the gate to prevent his being purſued.

Buhanzon forces the gates of Old Fez.

Buhanzon thought now of nothing but of being proclaimed king of Fez, and put in poſſeſſion of the vaſt treaſure which Mohammed had been forced to leave behind. But the treacherous Rays, under pretence of his being too great a favourer of the Chriſtians, cauſed him to be thrown into a priſon, ſet prince Meroui upon the throne, and ſeized upon the ſharif's treaſure. This treacherous conduct, joined to a report that he had murdered prince Buhanzon, raiſed ſuch a tumult in the city, that he was obliged to produce him to the people, and ſettle him upon the throne. In revenge, however, he ſent a man after Mohammed, under pretence of treating with him about ſome female priſoners of diſtinction, but in reality to invite him to return, and to promiſe him his aſſiſtance. But, finding that Mohammed was now too far engaged in another war to accept of his offer, he obliged the inhabitants to pay him a fine of an ounce of ſilver per

Salh Rays's treachery to Buhanzon.

head, and returned to Algiers laden with an immense spoil[m].

Pennon of Velez and Mequinez taken.

Buhanzon being thus settled on the Fezian throne, sent his son Mohammed to demand the restitution of the pennon of Velez, with which the sharif's governor immediately complied. Neither was this the only place of consequence which that prince took from him; Abdallah being obliged to abandon Mequinez, to join to his father, now engaged in a new war, that city fell immediately into his possession.

Mohammed had at this time two enemies to contend with, namely, Buhanzon, now on the Fezian throne; and his brother Hammed, who, being informed of all that had passed, had found means to quit the desert, and make himself master of Taphilet. Mohammed lost no time in deliberating, but sent immediately his son Abdallah, at the head of a strong army, against the former, whilst he led the other in person against the latter. His son no sooner advanced towards Fez, than Buhanzon sent his two sons, Muley Nacer and Mohammed, against him, at the head of a numerous host: but these two young princes, through an emulous jealousy, refusing to engage the sharif jointly, Mohammed was rash enough to engage the enemy without him, in hopes of securing to himself the sole honour of the victory, and was quickly put to the rout: whilst Nacer, more cautious than he, chose rather to retire to Fez than to hazard the loss of his forces by a second engagement, which he easily foresaw would only yield his antagonist the glory of a double victory. However, this miscarriage did not discourage their father from making a fresh attempt, who, sallying out at the head of those very troops, before Abdallah could put his own in order of battle, fell so unexpectedly upon him, that he put him to a shameful flight, and pursued him to the walls of Morocco. It happened luckily for the old sharif, who then held his brother Hammed closely besieged in Taphilet, that he heard the news of his son's victory before he learned his defeat and flight; which gave him an opportunity to give out, that Buhanzon, after a total overthrow, had been obliged to take refuge in the pennon of Velez, whence he would be quickly dislodged, and sent a second time to solicit help from his old Christian friends. This report so alarmed Hammed's dread of

A.D.1555.

Abdallah put to flight.

[m] Idem, ibid.

his

his brother's resentment, that he immediately sent his two sons to implore his mercy: this being promised, he surrendered himself, and was sent by him into a Turkish monastery, where he was ordered to be kept confined for the rest of his life. Mohammed having thus easily recovered the city of Taphilet, left a strong garrison in it; and taking his two nephews, Nacer and Sidan, with him, hastened with all speed towards Fez; but in his way caused the two young princes to be butchered, to prevent their raising any commotions in favour of their father, or of themselves [n].

Hammed sent into a convent.

In the mean time Buhanzon, flushed with his late victory, would not allow him to approach his capital, but went to meet him at some distance, fully resolved and prepared to give him battle. His son Mohammed, who commanded his van-guard, consisting of nine thousand Arabians, made a great slaughter among that of the sharif, who coming speedily to their assistance, obliged him to retire. Buhanzon, who knew that his all depended on the success of his engagement, advanced with his other son Muley Nacer, and charged the enemy with no less conduct than bravery; but having received a dangerous wound in his thigh, which had laid him flat on the ground, his troops, who supposed him killed, betook themselves to flight. Nacer stood his ground for some time, but finding himself overpowered, was at length forced, with a few straggling soldiers which he rallied, to fly to the adjacent mountains. He was quickly followed by his brother Mohammed, who seeing their father dead, had immediately retired into Fez; but fearing lest the inhabitants should betray him to the enemy, had abandoned the place, and escaped to the mountains; upon which Mohammed entered the city in triumph.

Buhanzon defeated and killed.

The two unfortunate princes found no better resource than to retire to Mequinez, and thence to Sallee, where embarking in an European ship, they were taken by a corsair, commanded by a renegado of Bretany, in full sight of the Spanish coasts. Mohammed stayed not long at Fez, being resolved to go and suppress the mountaineers of Derenderen, who had already given him so much trouble. Leaving Abdallah with a strong garrison in that metropolis, he marched directly to Morocco, whence he sent a sufficient force against these revolters: having in a great measure reduced them, he invited his brother Hammed and

His son embark, and are taken by a corsair.

[n] Idem, ibid.

his whole family to his capital, and then gave himself up to the pleasures of the seraglio, among his wives, the number of whom he increased every year. He was soon satiated with them; and putting himself at the head of twelve thousand Turks, of which his guard consisted, besides a great corps of cavalry, he marched directly from Tarudant to Sus, which proved the most unfortunate expedition he ever undertook.

The Algerine governor hires a ruffian to assassinate the old sharif.

By this time Hascen, or Hassan, the son of the celebrated pirate Barbarossa, late tyrant of Algiers, had succeeded him in that kingdom, and was in constant fear of being invaded by the old sharif. Being in no condition to make head against him, he resolved, at any rate, to rid himself of so dreadful an enemy. He had in his service a Turk of his own name, every way qualified for such a desperate service. Him he engaged to assassinate Mohammed, in consideration of receiving a large sum immediately, and a promise of a considerable pension to his family, in case he should perish in the attempt. Thus stimulated, the assassin repaired to Fez, where he pretended to Abdallah to have received some ill treatment from the Algerine governor. The young sharif, who looked upon the Turks as a set of treacherous villains, without admitting him to his presence, bid him go to his father, who put greater confidence in them, and would readily take him under his protection. He was accordingly received by the old sharif with singular favour, and in a little while made captain of his guard; a promotion which made so deep an impression upon his heart, that it was a long time before he could prevail upon himself to perpetrate the horrid deed. At length, as they were on their march from Tarudant towards Sus, he discovered such a general murmuring and discontent among the Turkish guard, on account of their pay's being with-held from them above a year, as left him no room to doubt of his easily engaging a sufficient number of them in his perfidious design, by the prospect of the sharif's treasure, which he promised to share amongst them, and to secure them a safe retreat in Tremecen. The place they pitched upon for the execution of their plot was the Streight of Bibona, which crosses part of mount Atlas. Mohammed was then sitting at his tent door in the cool of the evening, attended by a few guards, and a favourite renegado. Hascen and his assassins presented themselves before him, as it were to pay their obedience to him, when the renegado perceiving the foremost of them to draw their scymitars, cried out, "Treason!" and exhorted the

sharif

ſharif to run for his life. He took his advice; but in his haſty flight fell upon his face. Haſcen firſt cut him acroſs the hand; the reſt falling upon him, pierced him with their ſwords, and left him weltering in his blood, with his Portugueſe renegado, who had defended him to the laſt. Such was the tragical end of that great warrior and tyrant, who, under the ſpecious cloak of religion, had raiſed himſelf to the ſummit of power and grandeur, by the blackeſt treaſons and baſeſt ingratitude [o]. Haſcen had no ſooner perpetrated the horrid deed, than he cauſed it to be proclaimed through the camp, that they had aſſaſſinated the tyrant. Without the leaſt oppoſition either from thoſe troops, or, which is ſtill more ſurpriſing, from any of the ſharif's ſons, he ſeized upon his treaſure, wives, and children; and promiſed his protection to as many of his forces as would come over to his intereſt. He thence marched to Tarudant, and made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle, the young ſharif, who commanded in it, having fled at his firſt approach. This young prince had ſome time before cauſed a renegado Jew to be impriſoned for debt, or rather for having found him too dangerous and enterpriſing. Him Haſcen ſoon releaſed, and made him chief judge of the city; and he, in return for the favour, adviſed him to fortify himſelf in that place, till he ſhould receive the reinforcement which had been promiſed from the governor of Algiers. If he had followed this advice, he might have greatly embarraſſed the meaſures of the new ſharif: but whether this advice gave him a miſtruſt of the Jews's fidelity, or his guilt made him apprehend the arrival of ſome forces from Morocco and Fez, inſtead of following his advice, he ſuddenly abandoned the place, and marching through the moſt deſert parts of the country, ſtrove to reach the city of Tremecen with his ill-gotten treaſure. The Jew, on the other hand, to ingratiate himſelf with the new ſharif, ſent immediate notice of his flight to his ſon, who had lately fled at his approach; upon which he got together all the Arabs and Berebers in that neighbourhood, and went at their head in purſuit of him with all imaginable ſpeed. They were fortunate enough to overtake the traitor, and all his accomplices, and cut them all in pieces, except five, whom they took priſoners; recovered all the treaſures and young princes which they had carried off, and brought them back ſafe to Tarudant. The firſt ſtep which the young ſharif took after his return,

A.D. 1556.

[o] Marmol, D. De Torres, & al. ſup. citat.

was to drive all that he suspected of disaffection out of that city; after which he readily surrendered it to Abdallah, as the immediate successor of Mohammed. In the mean time the news of the old sharif's assassination having reached the city of Morocco, Hali Ben Budchat, then grand vizier and governor of it, fearing lest any insurrection should be raised in favour of sharif Hammed, whom his brother had left prisoner with him, caused him, and seven of his sons and grandsons, to be murdered, without Abdallah's orders or knowlege; so that these two rival brothers, who had so long contended for the empire, were cut off by a violent death, and Abdallah left in quiet possession of the throne. We have dwelt the longer on the reign of that prince, as he was the founder of the new monarchy, in order to shew our readers by what means, and variety of events, he arrived at this excessive height of power and grandeur. The reigns of his successors containing little worth notice, but the bloody wars that happened between the competitors to the throne, and the oppression and misery under which their subjects groaned, we shall not enlarge upon particulars, till we come to Muley Ishmael, the first of this dynasty, whose reign hath made any considerable figure in the history of that empire.

A.D. 1557.

Hammed and his sons murdered at Morocco.

To return to that of Abdallah: the officious cruelty of Budchat did not pass unpunished. Among those whom that prime minister caused to be cut off, were two sons, Zidan, Hammed's eldest son, had by Meriam, Abdallah's beloved sister; at which that princess was so grievously affected, that her resentment soon furnished her with the most effectual means to ruin the murderer. She began with infusing some jealous fears of that designing minister into her brother's mind, as if he had butchered those young princes with no other view than to deprive his son, then a minor, of the succession, in order to raise his brother to the throne after his death. The sharif being impatient to have some farther proof of this design, she devised a stratagem, which had the desired effect. She took the opportunity of Abdallah's sickness, to debar every one from coming to see him. Among the rest, the vizier Hali was very frequent and importunate in his visits; but being still denied access, and suspecting him to be really dead, he took the liberty to tell her, that there was an absolute necessity for his being satisfied on that point, seeing every thing was kept in such suspense, that no matter, how important soever, could be determined. The princess, thinking it now a proper time to spring her mine, went

Princess Meriam's stratagem against the grand vizier.

went in to her brother, and, with his consent, threw a covering over his face, then she called in the prime minister, and told him the king was dead, and asked him what was proper to be done in such a juncture. Hali, throwing off the disguise, told her boldly, that he thought the king's son by far too young to succeed his father; that the state required an intrepid governor, who was capable to hold the reins of it with his own hands, in order to quell the troubles that might arise, punish the crimes which Abdallah had connived at, and recompence the services which he had overlooked; that he could see none fitter to restore the peace of it than his brother; and that, notwithstanding his great obligations to the late king, he should be the very first who should oppose the succession of his son in favour of that prince. He was going on, when the king, no longer able to contain himself, uncovered his face; and shaking his staff at him, asked, whether it was thus that he requited the signal favours he had heaped upon him; adding the most severe reproaches and dreadful threatenings, insomuch that the vizier, confounded and terrified beyond measure, ran home, where, having disguised himself in woman's apparel, he fled out of town: but while he was waiting under an olive-tree for some horses, which he had ordered to be brought to him, some huntsmen, who happened to ride by, taking him for a common prostitute, and pulling off his veil, presently knew him, and brought him back to the palace in that disguise; where Abdallah, not yet recovered from the violence of his resentment, caused him to be beheaded upon the spot [P].

Abdallah puts other princes to death.

From this time Abdallah, growing more and more jealous and cruel, as well as more debauched (H), removed

[P] Marmol, D. De Torres, & al. ubi supra.

(H) Abdallah was excessively given to wine and women; and when he had subdued his enemies, and secured himself from any farther attempts from his brother, he abandoned himself entirely to drinking and debauchery. He was seldom sober, but most frequently extremely drunk; and when so, indulged himself in flagrant acts of injustice, cruelty, and lewdness; insomuch that he scrupled not, among other modest women, whom he forced to submit to his brutish lusts, to debauch his own sister Lela Meriam, though he had above two hundred wives and concubines in his seraglio. He was of a brown complexion, middle size, but fat and corpulent towards the latter end of his life (1).

(1) De De Torres, Boulet, &c.

from

from him every thing that might interrupt either his repose or his pleasures. He caused his nephew Mohammed, the son of Abdelcader, to whom he had given Lela Sophia, his sister's daughter, in marriage, to be put to death, merely because his singular merit and valour had rendered him a favourite with the people. He continued committing the most horrid cruelties on his ministers and subjects; and though he became thereby more hated and dreaded by all, yet he was happy enough to keep himself in quiet possession of his vast dominions, and at peace with all his neighbours. He began his reign in the year 1557, being then about forty years old, and died anno 1574. In the 17th year of his reign he was possessed of the two Mauritanias, and a great part of Numidia; the former of these contained fourteen large provinces; among which those of Sus and Dhura furnished him yearly with fifteen thousand horse; the kingdom of Morocco with twenty-five thousand; and that of Fez fifteen thousand, besides five thousand more, which belonged to his lifeguard; the whole amounting to sixty thousand: he also kept a good number of harquebusiers in his garrisons, particularly in the city of Fez, which he made his residence. The Berebers and Arabs were obliged not only to pay him a constant tribute of corn, barley, dates, and other product, but likewise a certain number of forces, whom he only maintained during the war; and after that was ended, dismissed them to their respective adowars. He built several stately palaces at Fez and Morocco, together with some other public buildings, particularly a spacious college, consisting of four hundred halls or schools, for teaching the Koran. His successors, who are still possessors of this large empire, have ever since trod in ths same track of politics, and maintained the same maxims of arbitrary government, which Mohammed his father, as founder of that monarchy, had introduced; except, perhaps, that all his successors have exceeded him in oppression, extortion, cruelty, and perfidy.

His horrid cruelties, debaucheries, and death.

A.D. 1574. *Muley Mohammed.*

Abdallah was succeeded by Muley Mohammed, surnamed the Negro, because he was born of a Negro woman: he had no sooner got possession of the crown, than he caused one or two of his brothers to be seized, and beheaded; and the third, who was still young, to be closely confined, and kept prisoner; but being himself dethroned by his uncle Muley Moluch al Melech, he fled to Sebastian king of Portugal, who sailed into Africa with a powerful fleet and army; but being a prince of more courage than conduct, was defeated and killed at the famous battle of Alcassar;

A.D. 1578. *Slain.*

Muley

Muley Mohammed was likewise slain in it, or, as others say, was drowned in his flight endeavouring to cross a river[q].

Muley Moluch's victory and death.

Muley Moluch, or, as others call him, Abdel Melech, who fought against the Portuguese king at the battle, being very ill of some grievous disease, was brought to the field in his litter; and having tried to mount on horseback, was soon exhausted to such a degree, that he was forced to be brought back to his carriage, in which he expired[r]. Some say his illness was caused by a dose of poison, administered to him by a Granadan alcaide. However that be, he shewed to the last more concern for the victory than his life, commanding those about him to conceal his death, in order to save his troops. His brother Muley Hammed was so thunder-struck, when, coming to the side of the litter to speak with him, he found him quite breathless and cold, that he could not refrain from tears and exclamations; if these were not rather owing to the sudden joy he conceived[s] at the prospect of ascending the throne, as he actually did after the battle. Being acknowleged by all the officers of his army, and the provinces of the empire, he put himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand horse, besides a great multitude of his tributary Arabians. He exacted the oath of allegiance from his four brothers, Bal Hascen, Bouffers, Zidan, and Axin, as well as from all the alcaides, and the whole army, and then proceeded to the conquest of the kingdoms of Gago and Tombut. He had already signalized himself by several victories, and almost reduced those kingdoms, when Muley Nacer, his nephew, and the son of Muley Moluch, returned from Spain, where he had been detained seventeen years, that is, ever since his father's death. Being now flushed with the promise of a considerable assistance from Philip II. he raised an army of mountaineers, renegadoes, and other disbanded troops in the neighbourhood of Fez, and drew a considerable party over to his side. Against him Muley Hammed sent his son, at the head of a powerful force, who engaged and defeated him. Nacer being dangerously wounded, was put to flight, and left his arms and baggage behind. After this victory Hammed reigned peaceably and happily, being a great lover and

Succeeded by his brother Muley Hammed.

A.D. 1595.

[q] D. De Torres, Davity, Boulet, &c. [r] Thuan. Hist. lib. li. cap. 5. & seq. De Torres, Davity, & al. [s] P. de Guadalazar, Presa del Arache.

encourager

encourager of learning (I), and highly respected by his subjects, and died on the 29th of August, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his son Zidan, after a reign of twenty-six years[t].

Sidan seizes on the crown.

The empire was now torn into so many factions, that in less than six weeks three kings were proclaimed, besides Zidan, who, though the youngest of all, had caused himself to be crowned on the very day of his father's death. The other three brothers, equally contending for the throne, were at length overcome, after a great many bloody wars, which he was forced to sustain against them, and more especially against Muley Cheyk, his eldest brother, a prince of great valour and conduct, highly esteemed by the subjects and soldiery, who had procured a considerable assistance from Spain. It was not till after a great deal of bloodshed, and many considerable losses, both by sea and land (K), that he got the ascendant, and was enabled to restore the peace of the state. A gang of pirates, who had settled at Sallee, a famed port in the kingdom of Fez, soon disturbed it afresh, by the frequent outrages and depredations they committed upon the inland provinces; to suppress which he sent a splendid embassy to king Charles I. of England, to desire him to send

[t] Iidem, ibid.

(I) This prince is said to have been a good proficient in the mathematics, and especially in astronomy. His wars and conquests in the two great kingdoms above mentioned made it, in a great measure, necessary; because there is no other way to cross these vast sandy deserts but by the compass, and astronomical observations; for which purpose he always carried with him a handsome apparatus. He took no less care to make himself amends for the cost and pains of conquering these two kingdoms; from one of which he brought thirty mules loaded with gold-dust, and from the other sixty quintals, or one hundred weight, of the same (1).

(K) Among these losses was that of three thousand Arabic volumes on physic, philosophy, and divinity, which the Spaniards took from him at sea, in the year 1611; the year after his competitor had delivered up the important fortress of Arach, or Larach, to the count St. Germain, the Spanish commander, who was sent to his assistance by Philip III. of Spain (2).

(1) Davity, & auct. eo citat.

(2) P. Mart de Guadalazar, Presa del Arache, Mouquet Voy. lib. iii. p. 161 & 179.

him

him ſome ſhips and ammunition; and that prince readily complied with his requeſt. Zidan ſoon made himſelf maſter of Sallee, deſtroyed all the pirates, and, in return for the Engliſh king's timely aſſiſtance, ſent him three hundred Chriſtian ſlaves as a preſent. He reigned very peaceably all the remaining part of his life, except that he was often peſtered by the Alarbs, or Arabs, of the province of Morocco, his inveterate enemies, who had once forced him to abandon his capital to eſcape their fury. But having at length defeated ſome of them, and gained others by treaty and preſents, he returned to Morocco, and there continued in peace till the year 1630, in which he died[u]. A. D. 1630.

Abdelmelech's cruel reign.

He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Muley Abdelmelech, a prince who ſoon became odious to all his ſubjects, on account of his drunkenneſs, cruelty, and other vices; inſomuch that the Fezians invited a younger brother of his, named Hammed, to come and reign over them; but finding him no leſs tyrannical and cruel, they dethroned and impriſoned him. Abdelmelech was likewiſe oppoſed by two others of his brethren. But they were ſo ſlow in their preparations, that they gave him time enough to be before-hand with them, and to put them to the rout. He had hardly reigned four years in his debaucheries, before a Chriſtian ſlave, whom he deſigned to have caſtrated, entered his tent, he being then in the field, in the month of December, and finding him aſleep, ſhot him dead with a piſtol (L).

Is murdered.

He

[u] P. de Guadalazar, D. de Torres, Mouquet, Purchas, Davity, & al.

(L) Abdelmelech was the firſt prince who took the title of emperor of Morocco, Fez, Sus, Taphilet, &c. He pretended to a great deal of religion. He ordered an univerſal mourning for his father, inſomuch that the ſubjects were obliged to have their very ſhirts dyed blue, which is their mourning colour. He was very fond of Chriſtian ſlaves that turned renegadoes, and put more confidence in them than in his own Moors. But he was no leſs cruel and inhuman to thoſe who refuſed to turn Mohammedans, and made it his chief diverſion to have them devoured by ſome fierce lions, which he kept for that purpoſe, and ſometimes would hack them in pieces with his own ſcymetar.

The French ambaſſador having made preſſing complaints of this barbarity to the Porte, and of his being ſtill more inhuman to the French ſlaves than to thoſe of other nations, and

He was succeeded by his brother Muley Elwaly, or Elqualid Elgwaly, called by the Dutch relations and the Provençals, Muley Lowely, whom he had condemned to lose eyes, but his own death prevented the execution; far from losing his life, he was fetched out of prison to ascend the throne. He was a prince of so sweet and affable a temper, that he quickly gained the love of all his subjects. He began his reign with the enlargement of several prisoners of state, and raising the pay of his officers and soldiery. Among the prisoners which he had released, was an Andalusian alcayd, named Mohammed Zarroy, who was ungrateful enough to join with prince Semen, a brother of Elwaly, in a rebellion against him; but being defeated and taken, the former was beheaded, and the latter strangled. Elwaly reigned peaceably the remainder of his life, and died in the twelfth year of his reign. It was from him that Monsieur Sanson, the French ambassador, who had so narrowly escaped being murdered by his brother, obtained a treaty for the mutual exchange of prisoners [w].

Muley Elwaly.

He was succeeded by his brother Muley Hammed Cheyk, the last surviving son of Zidan, a prince so strongly given to women, that he seldom stirred out of his seraglio, or troubled himself with any affairs of state, but let a few rapacious favourites govern the realm. This indolence gave the Alarbs, or Arabs, about Morocco, the irreconcilable enemies of the sharifs, a fair opportunity of besieging him in the capital, of which they easily made themselves masters. Having murdered Muley Hammed, they elected Crumel Hack, one of their own princes, to reign in his stead, which he did some few years, and was succeeded by sharif Muley, king of Taphilet. This last be-

Sharif Muley king of Taphilet.

w D. Torres, Davity, Boulet, & al.

being answered, that the king his master's arms were long enough to do himself justice, Abdelmelech swore by Mohammed he would destroy the first ambassador that came to him from the French court. Monsieur Sanson, herald at arms, who was sent thither in that quality, had notice given him by a French renegado, who advised him to appear only as a private merchant. He was, however, sent for, and strictly questioned by the king, who had an executioner ready in the next chamber to dispatch him; but he had the address, or rather good fortune, to avert the danger, and got off unhurt (1).

(1) See Davity's Africa Version. de Roceler, p. 78.

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ing ſoon after at war with Sidi Omar, prince of Illech, had the misfortune to be defeated and taken priſoner. During his tedious confinement, he begat two ſons on an ugly negro, whom Omar had ſent him; the eldeſt of whom, named Muley Archy, ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Taphilet; during whoſe ſhort reign nothing conſiderable happened, except that, having drank to exceſs, and riding an unruly horſe, he fractured his ſkull in a grove of orange trees. Upon his death, Hammed, one of his nephews, then baſha of Morocco, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, whilſt his brother took the ſame bold ſtep at Taphilet. But Muley Iſhmael, the other ſon of Muley Sharif, and brother of Muley Archy, found means to overcome thoſe two competitors; and, in a ſhort time, to wrench both kingdoms from them, and to raiſe himſelf to a higher pitch of power, wealth, and grandeur, than any of his predeceſſors had ever attained.

Muley Archy.

A.D. 1672.

Muley Iſhmael, ſo famed throughout Europe as well as Africa, for his policy and cruelty, and what muſt ſeem moſt ſtrange, if not a downright contradiction, for his zeal and ſtrict obſervance of his religion (M), began his reign in the year 1672. He lived more like a private man than a king; and took up his reſidence at Mequinez, which was then no more than a caſtle, ſituated about twelve leagues from Fez, in one of the moſt delightful and richeſt ſpots in all Barbary, where he at firſt ſpent his time in cultivating the adjacent lands; and being no leſs

Muley Iſhmael's reign.

(M) During his whole reign, he would never drink any wine or ſtrong liquor. He obſerved the Ramadan, or Mohammedan Lent, four whole months every year, with more than ordinary abſtinence. He was no leſs ſcrupulous an obſerver of the uſual waſhings, public prayers, and other branches of his law; and never undertook any thing of moment without proſtrating himſelf upon the ground, and praying for the divine direction and aſſiſtance.

In his adminiſtration of juſtice, he was very rigid and impartial; yet would ſometimes run into ſome wild extravagancies; of which the following is a remarkable inſtance: a poor farmer having complained to him that ſome of his negroes had ſtolen from him a yoke of oxen, which were his ſole dependence, he ordered his whole negro guard to paſs before him, and ſhot every one whom the farmer accuſed. But aſking him afterwards what amends he could make him for the loſs of ſo many ſtout Negroes, and the man being at a loſs what to anſwer, he made him undergo the ſame fate (1).

(1) Hiſtory of Barbary, & al.

fond

fond of money than agriculture, applied himſelf likewiſe to commerce. The charming ſituation of Mequinez ſoon induced him to make it not only his chief reſidence, but the metropolis of his kingdom. He adorned it with many ſumptuous buildings; ſome of which he cauſed to be pulled down, and rebuilt in another place. It is reported, that if they were all now ſtanding, they would make a contiguous ſtreet that would reach quite to Fez. But his pretence for building and pulling down in that extravagant manner, was to keep his ſubjects employed; "for ſaid he, if I keep a bag full of rats, they will eat their way through, if I do not keep it in conſtant motion:" and ſure it is that in this, and all other reſpects, he treated them no better than as ſo many vermin, whoſe lives were at his arbitrary diſpoſal, inſomuch that he made it even a piece of diverſion to ſhoot or behead them, to ſhew his dexterity: and as for the reſt, he loaded them with ſuch taxes and labour, and other oppreſſions, that their ſtate was much more to be pitied than of thoſe whom he ſent out of the world. So intent was he in heaping up riches, which his ſordid temper would not permit him to enjoy, that though he was ever levying ſome new taxes, or impoſts on the people, yet would he be at no expence in maintaining either his houſhould or his army, but obliged his Mooriſh ſoldiery to ſerve him without allowing them
A.D.1675. either pay, cloathing, arms, or victuals. Not many years after his acceſſion to the throne, having ordered them to join his ſon Muley Zidan, to go and retake the city of Morocco, which Muley Mohammed, another of his ſons, had made himſelf maſter of, when their officers applied to him for a ſtipend to maintain them, he gave them this brutal anſwer: "Ye Mooriſh dogs, do any other of my beaſts aſk me for mainetnance? Do not they take it where they can find it, without troubling me about it? Go, march with all ſpeed whither I ſend you, and do you maintain yourſelves as they do." This was, in fact, a licence for both officers and ſoldiers to plunder all that came in their way. Theſe arbitrary acts of oppreſſion, the effects of his inſatiable avarice, occaſioned a general decay of trade, miſery and poverty among his ſubjects, a moſt ſhameful corruption among his miniſters, and an univerſal deluge of injuſtice and oppreſſion throughout every province in his dominions.

Barbarity to his wives, He was no leſs cruel and tyrannical to his wives and concubines. He kept no leſs than three thouſand of the former, and five thouſand of the latter rank; among whom he

he was looked upon as ſuch a monſter of inhumanity, that it was with the greateſt dread they approached him; and not without juſt cauſe, ſeeing they often were made the victims of his ill-humour. Some of them he cauſed to be puniſhed for the leaſt word or action that diſpleaſed him, in a moſt barbarous and ſhameful manner, by his eunuchs and ſlaves; others to be ſtrangled, for the leaſt fault, ſuch as plucking off an orange, or other fruit in his garden. His very children were ſo much the objects of his jealouſy and miſtruſt, that the leaſt apprehenſion made the father degenerate into a tyrant, inſomuch that thoſe that were his greateſt favourites, had the greateſt cauſe to dread his cruelty. It is very ſurpriſing that a tyrant of this deteſtable character ſhould maintain himſelf on the throne for the ſpace of fifty-five years, in a country where rebellions, dethronements, and aſſaſſinations of princes, were ſo very frequent, without meeting with any diſturbance from his oppreſſed ſubjects, or his jealous neighbours, or indeed from any quarter but from his own ſon Muley Mohammed, the moſt beloved of all his children, who openly having attempted to wreſt the crown from him, fell an unhappy victim of his own ambition.

Long reign.

Muley Mohammed, his favourite ſon, envied by the ſultana.

This prince was born of a beautiful Georgian ſlave, brought up in the Chriſtian religion, whoſe ſuperior charms ſoon engroſſed his father's affection. His own accompliſhments endeared him ſo much to the emperor, that he only had a royal education given him, whilſt the reſt of his brethren were brought up in the moſt profound ignorance; but it was this partial fondneſs that occaſioned his ruin. Laila Ajakah, a fat Negro woman, ſince ſtyled Sultana Sidana, or *Sultana Queen*, who had a great aſcendant over Muley Iſhmael, beheld with ſuch jealouſy the preference he gave to this favourite above her own eldeſt ſon, named Sidan, that ſhe reſolved to ruin both the mother and the ſon. The firſt aim ſhe quickly accompliſhed by a falſe accuſation of infidelity, for which that jealous monarch cauſed her to be put to death, though he was ſoon after undeceived, and highly grieved at his credulity and precipitation: but Laila had ſtill a more dangerous victim to ſacrifice to her fear; and Mohammed, who was become a greater favourite of the king, on account of his innocent mother's untimely death, ſhe now conſidered as a formidable rival to her ſon Sidan, a looſe, cruel, and profligate prince. The king could not but be ſenſible of her hatred to him; and, in order to put it out of her power to raiſe any freſh cabals againſt him, ordered him the ſum of fifteen quintals of ſilver, and to go and take upon

His mother put to death.

him the care and superintendency of his old seraglio at Taphilet, where he had not been long before a very dangerous rupture happened between him and another brother, named Maimon, a debauched prince, who was then governor of that city. This contest about precedency, occasioned a bloody rencounter, and they were both ordered to court in chains, by the express order of their father, from whom, upon their first approach, they received a short, but very severe reprimand. They were next ordered to plead their cause before him, which they did in such a manner, that Maimon was disgraced, and ordered into confinement at Tezami, a castle about nine miles from Taphilet. Upon his departure, he told the king, that nothing grieved him so much as that that Christian, meaning Mohammed, should get the better of him. A fresh contest arose between them, which grew to such a height, that the father ordered a scymitar to be given to each, in order to prove which was the most valiant; but at the earnest entreaty of some of the nobles, he ordered the scymitars to be exchanged for a couple of cudgels, which they plied against each other with such fury, that they both were quickly covered over with their own blood. The king in vain commanded them to leave off; but Mohammed, without regarding this injunction, continued his blows; upon which the king took Maimon's cudgel and struck the other, who was so exasperated at this indignity, that he seized Maimon by the collar, threw him upon the ground, and stamped upon his body; his father was going to pierce him with his spear; but upon recollection, contented himself with giving him a slight blow, and upbraiding him with his Christian blood, bid him go and eat swine's flesh with the Nazarites. It was not long, however, before his tenderness got the better of his resentment; so that, to make him amends for his harsh words, he offered him the government of Taphilet, which he refused for that of Fez, where he was better beloved. He had not long enjoyed this happiness, before the king sent him orders to go to Taphilet. To excuse himself, he pretended to be very ill, and forced to keep his bed; upon which the king immediately dispatched to him a Christian physician. The young prince endeavoured to prevail upon him to impose upon his father; but the doctor, on his return, told him honestly, that his son was quite cured before he could find out his distemper. Mohammed was immediately sent for to court, and severely reprimanded for his disobedience and dissimulation; yet he was excused from going to Taphilet, and sent to Montigara,

Falls out with his brother Maimon.

The latter disgraced.

The king's strange behaviour to them.

Muley Mohammed refuses the government of Taphilet.

tigara, along with his own brother Muley Sharif, whom he loved, and with whom he continued five years in great harmony and affection. A sedition being raised in the kingdom of Suz, by the governor of Tarudant, Muley Ishmael, who had caused him to be beheaded, ordered that favourite son to go and take the government of it, as being the most considerable in the whole empire; an order which he thankfully obeyed, and quickly restored peace to that remote province. But his success and preferment failed not to awaken the jealousy of queen Laila, who looked upon him as the person designed for the succession; and took it for granted he would seize the first opportunity to revenge his mother's death on her and her son: in order to prevent which catastrophe, and effect that dreaded rival's ruin, she took the advantage of the king's absence, who was then at the siege of Oran. She procured a letter to be counterfeited under his hand and seal, and sent it to Mohammed, wherein he was expressly ordered to put to death an old venerable Arabian cheyk, whom the king highly esteemed for his signal services. He accordingly obeyed the order, and sent the same courier back to acquaint the king with what he had done. The express arrived at the court of Mequinez soon after the king's return; and much about the same time came the sons of the deceased cheyk to make their complaints to him; at which he was so highly provoked, that he ordered his son to repair to him with all speed. The prince obeyed, and upon his arrival found his father in the greatest fury, attended with the cheyk's children all in tears. The first question he asked him was in an angry tone; "art thou sharif?" To which he readily answered, "Thou knowest whether I am or not. I have only executed thy commands, and here they are under thy hand and seal," giving him the forged letter. The king had scarce read it before he got on horseback, and made such speed towards the palace, that every body concluded that he was gone to sacrifice the sultana to his resentment. But she found means to appease him by some specious pretence; so that he contented himself with distributing some money among the weeping orphans, and sent them and his son back to Tarudant.

Mohammed quells a revolt in Suz.

The sultana contrives his ruin.

Her strange ascendency over the king.

It was now impossible for Mohammed not to perceive, as well as resent the sultana's treacherous designs against him, as well as the great ascendency which she had over his father; from which he could but too plainly discern, that she would leave no stone unturned till she had wrought his total ruin. All these sad prospects he revolved in his

mind, as he was returning to his government; when he unhappily met with the alcayd Cader, on his return from Guinea, who guarded an immense quantity of gold belonging to the king. This he seized for his own use, and prevailed upon several of the alcayd's retinue to follow him to Tarudant. As soon as he was arrived at his government, he sent a letter to his father; conceived in such terms as plainly indicated his revolt, and another to the sultana, full of reproaches and bitter reflexions against her and her son Sidan. All which so exasperated the old king, that he was upon the point of setting aside for a while his intended expedition against Algiers, to suppress this new rebellion before it grew to a head. But his ill fortune made him determine otherwise. Though his army consisted of above sixty thousand, and that of the Algerines did not exceed the fifth part of that number, yet they worsted him in the field, killed a vast number of his men, and forced him to a shameful retreat [x].

Defeated by the Algerines.

Mohammed revolts, and takes Morocco by stratagem.

By this time Mohammed had so far increased his army, and so many discontented alcayds went over to him, especially after his father's defeat, that, though he had neither artillery nor other materials for a siege, yet, trusting to the affections of the people, he marched directly to Morocco, and summoned the governor to surrender. Finding, however, an opposition which he did not expect, he had recourse to the following stratagem, which succeeded to his wishes. He ordered his army to march off, as if he had abandoned the siege; and, as he expected, the governor sallied out in pursuit of him, at the head of eight thousand men, whom he so closely surrounded by the disposition of his own forces, that he either killed or made them all prisoners: among the latter, was the governor, with several other alcayds, particularly Kali Bouchafra, a near relation of the sultana; all whom he ordered to be conveyed to Tarudant. Then he entered the city sword in hand, seized on all the treasure he could find, and gave the plunder of the place to his troops. But hearing that his brother Sidan was coming with a great army to besiege him, he marched away to Tarudant with all his booty. Here the artful alcayd Bouchafra, his prisoner, in order to betray him the more easily to his father, had so far insinuated himself into his favour, that he became privy to his designs, of which he gave immediate intelligence to the court, and would in all likelihood have ruined his measures, had not some of his letters been intercepted and

Finds an immense treasure in it.

Returns to Tarudant.

x See Histoir. des Cherifs, De Torres, & al.

brought

brought to Mohammed, who caused them to be openly read in his council, and asked what the treacherous writer of them deserved? Bouchafra, who was then present, in order to remove the suspicion from himself, was the first who condemned him to death; upon which the sharif told him, that he had pronounced sentence against himself; and, by a double stroke of policy, he ordered Melech, the late governor of Morocco, to cut off his head. Mohammed being now more powerful than ever, resolved to go and engage his brother Sidan, who was making long marches at the head of a powerful army against him. When they came to engage, Melech, whom Mohammed had entrusted with the command of his Negro troops, either in revenge for the late affront, or to regain the emperor's favour, suffered himself to be surrounded by Sidan's forces; so that his brother was obliged to betake himself to a shameful flight, after the loss of a great number of his men. The king, as soon as he heard the news of Sidan's victory, ordered him to send all the prisoners to him without delay. Sidan fearing for Melech, to whom he owed it, earnestly interceded for him; the same did his wives and children, but all in vain: the king told them, that he forgave him, but the sultana and her relations never would forgive his cutting off Bouchafra's head. The cruel monarch, instigated by his queen and her relations, and some treacherous talbs, ordered that faithful officer to be publicly sawn asunder. In excuse for his extreme barbarity and ingratitude, he alleged, that Melech having proved a traitor to his son Mohammed, as well to him, he had ordered him to be sawn into two parts, that each of them might have one half of his body. In the mean time Mohammed having reached Tarudant with the shattered remains of his army, the victorious Sidan pursued him thither, and laid close siege to it; but was so often repulsed with great loss, that, despairing to get it by force, he retired to Morocco, where he contrived such a lucky stratagem, as soon put an end to the rebellion, and to the life of its author.

Bouchafra's treachery, and punishment.

Mohammed betrayed by Melech.

Defeated by Sidan.

Melech's dreadful death.

Mohammed besieged in Tarudant.

Mohammed had been to visit his camp out of the city, on a Friday, which is the Mohammedan sabbath; and, on his return, fell into an ambush of Negroes, whom the alcayd Abdelcary, a creature of Sidan's, had placed near the gates to intercept him. At sight of them he cried out, that he was Muley Mohammed. They answered, "We know thou art, and are ordered by the king to seize thee," and immediately surrounded him on all sides. He made

A.D. 1706.

Mohammed seized.

several efforts to break through them, in order to gain the city gate; but, finding it shut against him, he fought so desperately, that he laid a good number of them wounded at his feet; whilst they, afraid of shedding a sharif's blood, dared not lift their weapons against him. At length, one of them advised the rest to cut off the legs of his horse; upon which they easily seized on his person, and carried him prisoner to Morocco, whence Sidan caused him to be conveyed to Mequinez, under an escort of five hundred horse.

The king, upon the first notice of his coming, to avoid the solicitations of his court in favour of his son, set out of Mequinez, attended by two thousand horse, and one thousand foot, and waited for him at Beth, the place where he designed to punish him for his revolt. To add to the horror of the cavalcade, he was preceded by forty Christian slaves, who carried a monstrous copper, with one hundred weight of pitch, and the same quantity of oil and tallow; and those were followed by six butchers, with large knives in their hands, and a cart loaded with wood; which dreadful apparatus filled the city of Mequinez, which had so lately beheld the execution of the unfortunate Melech, with the utmost horror and confusion; but more especially Mohammed's daughter, who, attended by a number of ladies, and others of his friends, came to implore the king's clemency in his behalf. The very sultana, his bitterest enemy, could so far disguise her hatred, as to become one of his intercessors. All these the king received with an affected coldness; and, by way of comfort, told them, that he designed him no other punishment, than pouring a little boiling oil upon him. He was a whole day and night without seeing his son, who arrived at Beth the preceding day; but, upon his appearing prostrate before him the day after, the king clapped the point of his spear to his breast; upon which, and seeing the butchers, and the rest of the dreadful apparatus, he cried aloud, "For God, and his prophet's sake, forgive me, I beseech thee!" The old tyrant, without minding his cries, ordered one of the butchers to hoist him on the cart, and cut off his wrist on the rim of the copper. The fellow in a fright protested, that he would lose his life sooner than shed his son's blood: the consequence of which refusal was, that the king cut off his head with his own hand, and ordered another of them to go up and deprive Mohammed of one hand and one foot. Whilst the man was employed in this operation, the king called the children of Bouchafra, and bid them look at the hand and foot of that traitor;

The king causes his hand and foot to be cut off.

traitor; and, as soon as the execution was performed, asked them, whether they were satisfied. They answered, with great submission, in the affirmative. He then cast his eye on his bleeding son, and, in a surly tone, asked him, whether he knew his father now; then, drawing his sword again, lopped off the executioner's head at one blow; at which his son could not forbear crying out to the spectators, "Behold my father's valour, who equally puts to death those who obey, and those who disobey his commands." The king only staid to see his arm and leg dipped in the melted pitch, to staunch the blood; then he mounted his horse, and returned to Mequinez, leaving express orders with four of his alcaydes to bring his son alive thither, under pain of death.

It is impossible to express the doleful cries and lamentations with which the news of this execution filled the whole palace, especially the women's apartment; insomuch that the king could find no other means to suppress them, than by threatening immediate death to all who should be heard to weep; and, to shew them that he was in earnest, he ordered four of them to be strangled, who had not been able to conceal their grief. Mohammed's daughter was the only person to whom he indulged that liberty, and whom, for that reason, he carefully avoided; whilst one of her brothers, being denied that poor relief, threw himself from a terrace, and died of the fall.

Towards the close of the evening, Mohammed entered Mequinez, mounted on a mule, with his arm in a scarf, and his leg in a wooden box, and was conveyed to the house appointed for him. He received the visits of his friends next morning with seeming chearfulness, and was constantly attended by several Christian surgeons; though others affirm, that he would not suffer any to come near him, and that he tore off the plasters which his servants applied[y]: however that be, thirteen days after the amputation, a gangrene having seized upon his wounds, carried him off; and, according to his desire, he was buried without any other ceremony than what was granted to the poorest Negro (N).

He dies of a gangrene.

Sidan

y Hist. of Barbary, p. 325. Hist. des Cherifs, & al. ubi supra.

(N) The king, however, caused a stately mausoleum to be erected over his grave, supported by four marble pillars, and covered with a wooden cupola, painted green.

He likewise ordered his favourite brother Muley Sharif, then

Sidan being thus rid of his rival brother, was sent back with his army to reduce the remainder of the revolters, who were still in arms at Tarudant. He besieged that capital so closely, that, for want of a fresh supply of provisions, above ten thousand of the besieged died of famine; and the rest were at length obliged to surrender at discretion. A dreadful massacre ensued, so that the streets streamed with blood; whilst those, who had the greatest cause to fear his fury, defended themselves to the last breath, to avoid the exquisite tortures which he committed on those who had the misfortune to fall alive into his hands. He had no sooner glutted his cruelty by the most horrid butcheries, and excruciating torments, than he resolved to satiate his avarice by seizing those treasures which his brother had laid up, as well as those of the great alcayd and principal officers, who were come over to him; which, altogether, amounted to an immense value, besides the plunder of the city, and of the adjacent countries. These dreadful cruelties and depredations diffused such terror throughout that province, that Moors, Arabs, Berebers, and other inhabitants, fled to the most inaccessible deserts, mountains, and caverns. The city of Santa Cruz, though at a good distance, and very strongly fortified, was abandoned both by the governor and garrison, and none of the inhabitants left in it, but a poor old woman, and a blind Jew. The trading vessels that rode at anchor quitted the harbour, and did not return till a proclamation gave them fresh assurances, that they might safely resume their commerce, on condition that they paid the usual duties.

Sidan's cruelty.

In the mean time his great success, numerous forces, and immense treasure, soon alarmed the old king's jealousy, and made him repent that he had ever intrusted him with so much power. He tried, in vain, all the fair means and stratagems to draw him from Tarudant to Mequinez, or to oblige him to send him some of his forces for the siege of Ceuta. Sidan was never at a loss for some plausible excuse for his non-compliance, which forced the old tyrant at length to have recourse to artifice.

The king grows jealous of him.

He began with confining himself to his apartment, without being seen by any but the sultana, mother of Sidan. A rumour was spread abroad, that he was taken ill of the strangury, of which she sent notice to her son, advising

then in his government of Montigara, to bring all the deceased's children to court; on whom he heaped many signal tokens of real tenderness and affection.

him

him, as a mother, to draw nearer to Mequinez, as the moſt effectual means of ſecuring his ſucceſſion; to which remonſtrance he anſwered, that he knew his father too well to truſt himſelf ſo near his perſon. The king, continuing ſtill inviſible, a diverſity of opinions were circulated, which put the kingdom into confuſion, and obliged her to ſend a ſecond expreſs to acquaint him, that he muſt come to her immediately, if he deſigned to pay his dying father the laſt filial office; to this ſecond exhortation he replied, that, let his father live or die, he would not quit his army. After ſhe had uſed a great variety of ſtratagems, which rendered him ſtill more inflexible, and increaſed the general ferment, ſhe ſallied out of the palace in her chariot, attended by her women, eunuchs, and a numerous retinue, one of whom carried the ſword before her; and behaved in ſuch a deſpotic manner, that the people, who concluded the king was dead, and that ſhe deſigned to ſeize on the throne, roſe up in arms, and forced her to retire, purſuing her to the palace gates. The king had not been out of his apartment during the ſpace of fifty-two days, when this laſt uproar happened; but, as ſoon as he was informed of it, he immediately ſhewed himſelf, to the great ſurprize of the whole city, which was by that expedient reſtored to its uſual tranquility. His foes, as well as his friends, made public rejoicings at the news of his pretended recovery; and even the Chriſtian ſlaves expreſſed their joy, by one of the fineſt and moſt curious fireworks that had ever been ſeen in his dominions, which made him ſay, that the Chriſtians had a greater affection for him than his own Moors.

The king hires Sidan's wives to murder him.

None of his ſtratagems having been able to draw his ſon out of Tarudant, his jealous fears roſe at length to ſo great a height, that he reſolved to get rid of him at any rate. Finding that he was deteſted for his continual exceſſes in drinking, and the horrid murders, rapes, and other unnatural crimes, which he committed not only on his ſubjects, without diſtinction of quality, age, or ſex, but likewiſe on his own wives, who lived in conſtant dread and abhorrence of him, he eaſily prevailed upon theſe to become his executioners. Accordingly, taking the firſt opportunity of his being brutally intoxicated, they without difficulty or oppoſition, ſmothered him in his bed, and rid the empire of one beaſtly tyrant (O).

Muley

(O) Our readers will, perhaps, wonder to find this jealous and exaſperated father, after having cauſed his rebellious

Muley Ishmael had not long enjoyed the prospect of a more peaceable reign, by the death of one rebellious son, before it was troubled again by the revolt of another. This last was called Muley Abdelmelech, who had been long ago preferred to the government of Suz, where he had, for some time, assumed the title and state of a king; but now openly refused the usual tribute and allegiance. The king had immediately recourse to his usual artifices, in order to allure him to court, being now too old and infirm to engage in a civil war; but, to his great grief, he found this new rebel as diffident and inflexible as the last; only with this difference, that he still continued making the most solemn protestations of filial affection, putting up fervent prayers for his life; and declaring that he never had entertained the least thought of taking up arms against his father and sovereign. The king, doubtless, was too sharp-sighted and mistrustful to be satisfied with such excuses; yet he chose to appear so, rather than come to extremities; but he took care to give a mortifying proof of his resentment, by changing the order of succession in favour of his younger son Muley Hammed. Some people, however, imagine he shewed him this preference, not so much out of dislike to his elder brother, as with a view of obliterating the memory of his own tyrannic and inhuman vices, by appointing for his successor a prince of the most dissolute, vicious, and debauched character. However

Muley Ishmael alters the succession.

ous son to be thus dispatched, should afterwards sacrifice his executioners to the furious resentment of the sultana. This woman not only had the greatest ascendancy over him, but from her vindictive temper he had every thing to fear, as he was now in his decline. Not daring to refuse her any thing, he was forced to deliver into her hands seven of Sidan's wives, who were concerned in his death, and even the wine-merchants, and others, who had furnished him with those liquors, with which he was wont to intoxicate himself, all of whom she sacrificed to her resentment. Three of the former were strangled, after she had forced them to eat their own breasts, which were cut off for that purpose.

He was no less obliging to her in the interment of her son, whose body he caused to be embalmed, and brought from Tarudant to Mequinez, under an escort of six thousand horse, and to be buried with great pomp in the sepulchre of the sharifs. What is still more extraordinary, he caused a stately mosque to be erected over his grave, which was to be ever after a sanctuary for malefactors (1).

(1) Idem, ibid.

that

that be, Muley Ishmael died soon after, of extreme old age, which had deprived him of his usual exercise of riding on horseback; and was succeeded by Muley Hammed, surnamed Deby, or Dehaby, according to his appointment. His death, pursuant to his order to basha Empsael, the chief of his eunuchs, was concealed during two whole months, in order to give Hammed Deby time to secure himself against his two brothers; but this concealment caused such universal discontent, that Empsael, under pretence of shewing him alive and well, brought him out in his close chariot, and went himself to take sanctuary in the house of a famed saint, named Muley Idarif: the attendants, finding only his dead body, brought it back with the same pomp to Mequinez, where he was magnificently interred, and his son honoured him with a stately monument [a].

A.D. 1727.

His death.

Succeeded by Muley Hammed Deby.

In the mean time one of his brothers, named Muley Abdallah, who had some time before been obliged to retire to avoid his resentment, took the opportunity of the public discontent to ascend the throne, by forcing himself into his father's apartment; but met with such a repulse from the guards, that he was compelled to retire, yet he was soon after received into favour.

Muley Deby, being now in quiet possession of the crown, became even more rapacious than his father, in whose treasure he found to the amount of fifty millions, besides jewels, and other riches, to an immense value. This prodigious treasure was still increased by ten millions more, which he had saved, or rather extorted, in his government, during his father's life; yet was he so rapacious, as to strip the old man's last eight hundred wives of all their gold and jewels immediately after his death. To avoid, however, the odium of such unnatural conduct, which began to shew itself every where, he caused a declaration to be published, by which he promised to exact of his subjects no other taxes than the tenth, allowed by the Mohammedan law, and confirmed all the ministers of the last reign in their respective offices. By this step having, as he imagined, secured himself from any rebellious attempts, he immediately plunged into all kinds and excesses of debauchery; insomuch, that the people began to curse his father for pitching upon the very worst of his sons for his successor. This discontent shewed itself still more in the kingdom and city of Fez; where his deputies having

His immense treasure.

[a] D. De Torres, Braithwait, Revol. p. 6, & seq. & al.

been

been sent to exact the usual oaths of allegiance, the inhabitants answered, that the news of the late king's death had afflicted them to such a degree, that it would require at least some days before they could be in a capacity to deliberate upon so important a matter. This excuse, which was only a pretence in order to gain time, joined to the general ferment, drove him upon a new expedient, which rendered him still more odious to his Moorish subjects; for, growing diffident of them, he began to secure to himself the affections of his Negroes, not only by large donatives, but by intrusting them with the management of his most important affairs; so that an open revolt broke out in the city of Fez, where the insurgents massacred the governor, with about eighty of his chief officers, and drove all his Negro soldiers away.

Fez revolts.

This commotion was soon followed by another at Tetuan, where the governor, being forced by the inhabitants to abandon the place, caused the magazine of powder to be set on fire, by which explosion above sixty houses were reduced to rubbish, and the rest greatly shattered and endangered. In revenge, the Tetuaners sapped the foundations of the basha's palace, one of the noblest structures in Barbary, and reduced both it and its magnificent gardens[b] to heaps of ruins.

A rebellion at Tetuan.

All this while the Tetuaners did not pretend to take up arms against the emperor, but against his tyrannic basha; and sent a deputation to court against him, where he was summoned to appear. Articles of reconciliation were drawn up; but he, refusing to sign them, took the direct road to Tangier, and they proceeded to Fez. The Fezians, being informed of the success of their stratagem, resolved to follow their example, in hopes to gain time, until they should be in a condition to declare for prince Abdelmelech. This prince was the king's uterine brother, and by much his most powerful competitor, not only as he was at the head of a formidable army, and had the hearts of all the people; but much more so, as he had just before routed the royal forces commanded by Hali, another brother, whom the king had sent against him; and who, upon his defeat, was disgraced and confined to his own house. Abdelmelech was, however, guilty, at this juncture, of an indiscretion, which had well nigh proved fatal to him, not only in the cruel treatment which he shewed towards his Negro prisoners, but in his solemn declaration, that he would

Abdelmelech takes up arms against the king.

[b] Idem. ibid. auct. & Braithwait, Revol. ubi supra, p. 9, & seq.

would not ſuffer any of them to come near his perſon when he was once maſter of the throne. This declaration compelled them all to ſide with the king, or any other competitor againſt Abdelmelech.

It was not long before they made him feel the effects of their reſentment. He had, ſoon after his victory over Hali, made himſelf maſter of the city of Morocco, and by that conqueſt fixed the affections of the Fezians more firmly in his intereſt, when theſe exaſperated Negroes put themſelves under the command of Tariffa, an old experienced officer, who immediately practiſed a ſtratagem againſt them, which failed not to diſconcert all his meaſures. Under the appearance of coming to beſiege him in that capital, he drew him and his army into an ambuſcade, from which he did not extricate himſelf till after the loſs of a great part of his forces, and receiving three ſlight wounds. What was ſtill worſe, a report being ſtudiouſly ſpread that he was killed in the action, the Fezians made their peace with the king by means of a magnificent preſent, and a numerous embaſſy; all which was the more readily accepted by that monarch, as he well knew that his rival brother was ſtill alive, though forced to retire out of Morocco into ſome of the neighbouring deſerts. The Tetuaners were no leſs alarmed and diſheartened at the pretended news of his death. We have already ſeen what a bold ſtand they made in his favour, though under pretence of acting againſt their rapacious baſha. To pacify them the king had ſent a new governor, named Abdelmelech Busfra, who entered the town about the latter end of July, and was received with great joy. They ſoon altered their behaviour when he condemned Paiz, a blackſmith, whom they had elected for their baſha, to be ſeized and hanged, for obſtructing his firſt orders about repairing the fortifications of the place. Theſe orders they refuſed to obey; ſo that he, from that time, contented himſelf to proceed as they pleaſed, for which complaiſance they allowed him an honourable maintenance[h]. Mean while the old baſha Hammed, having obtained a ſecret permiſſion from the king to ſurpriſe the city, and ſeize upon his old government, appeared at the head of his reeſeers, or *dependents*, and attacked the place on that ſide at which they leaſt expected them; upon the ſurprize of which the citizens quitted the breaſt-work, and made towards the town, a retreat which gave the enemy an op-

Abdelmelech defeated and wounded.

Busfra ſent baſha of Tetuan.

[h] Braithwait, ubi ſupra, p. 25, & ſeq. & al. ubi ſupra.

portunity

Hammed defeated in his attempt upon it.

portunity to enter it on all ſides. Baſha Busfra was one of the firſt who rode off with his brother and ſervants; but whilſt the reeſeers were buſied in plundering the town, the townſmen, now recovered from their fright, mounted to the tops of the houſes, and with little danger to themſelves, killed the plunderers as they were making off with their ſpoil, and drove the reſt out of the town.

The reeſeers had no better ſucceſs againſt the caſtle, which the baſha ordered them to attack. He was ſo enraged at their miſcarriage, that he cauſed all the plunder that was brought out of the city to be burned; a ſtep which occaſioned ſuch a diſorder among them, that inſtead of making uſe of ſixteen pieces of cannon left upon the breaſt-work, which they might have turned againſt the town, they ran away without ſo much as nailing them up. Night coming on, the citizens drew them into the town, and fortified every avenue. Thus they fruſtrated all the attempts of the baſha, who was obliged to retire with ſhame and diſgrace [i].

Obtains that government from the emperor.

Whilſt the Tetuaners were congratulating themſelves upon their deliverance, freſh news came from court, that the king had reinſtated baſha Hammed in his government of Tetuan, and all its other dependencies. A council was immediately called, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, at all adventures, to obſtruct his return; and, in caſe of the worſt, to put their city under the protection of the Spaniards, rather than comply with the king's orders. However, as they were ſtill in the dark about prince Abdelmelech, of whom they had heard nothing for ſeveral months, to avoid farther danger, they agreed that Mr. Ruſſel, the Britiſh ambaſſador, ſhould accompany their governor Busfra, and ten of their deputies, to court, in order to obtain by rich preſents a revocation of the order made in favour of baſha Hammed. They ſet out accordingly, and, at their arrival at Fez, found it cloſely beſieged by the king's forces. The inhabitants of the old city had murdered ſeveral ludyres (ſo they call the guards), who had been ſent thither to keep the townſmen in awe. Both city and country were engaged in a kind of war, and Moors, as well as Arabs, divided between the two contending brothers. During their ſtay there they ſaw Muley Amſteady, the king's brother and chief favourite, and the grand mufti of Mequinez arrive, with new propoſals for a reconciliation, which were, however rejected.

Fez beſieged by the king's forces.

[i] Iidem ibid. De Torres, Boulet, & al. ſup. citat.

Upon

Upon their dismission the flag of defiance was again hoisted, and hostilities were renewed. The besiegers plied their batteries against the town with redoubled ardour, though with little success, through the badness of their artillery; whilst the besieged made frequent sallies upon them with no better fortune, they being still repulsed by the enemy's cavalry. Tired at length with the siege, the Fezians sent deputies to court to treat of peace on such terms as the emperor should please to grant, who, highly satisfied with the proposal, sent his son thither again, with some old experienced ministers, who soon terminated that affair to the satisfaction of both sides, and was soon after invested with the title of governor of the place.

A peace concluded.

Whilst these things were transacting, one of the sultanas and her sister being found guilty of holding a correspondence with Abdelmelech, who still kept himself at a distance at the head of some faithful troops, were condemned by the king, the former to be strangled, and the other to be imprisoned for life [k]. At length Abdelmelech ventured to send some offers of peace to his brother, promising to lay down his arms, on condition that he resigned to him one half of the empire, treasure, horses, arsenals, and magazines, which his father had left at his death. His proposals were rejected by the whole court, though the emperor himself would gladly have accepted of them, that he might the more quietly pursue his debauches, in which he was already totally immersed (Z).

This

[k] Iidem ibid.

(Z) To give our reader an idea of some of his barbarities, he caused one of his Negroes to be flung from the top of a terrace, for stopping his pipe too hard; and another to be tossed in a blanket till his limbs were dislocated, for not bringing his dogs to him so soon as he expected. Neither did his wives and concubines fare better; one of whom, on some trifling displeasure, he condemned to have all her teeth drawn; a few days after, having forgot his barbarous order, he commanded her to come to him again, and being told the misery she was in, ordered the tooth-drawer to be served in the same manner, and sent his teeth to her in a box, to comfort her for the loss of her own. He caused two Jewish young women, newly married, to be brought to him, and having deflowered them, sent them away to their husbands; a few days after, finding that they had been registered as his concubines, and that they cohabited with their husbands, he caused both couples to be murdered. Being always

Hammed gives himself up to drunkenness and cruelty.

This excess grew to such a height at length, that neither deputies, alcaydes, nor even ambassadors, could get access to him, because he never was in a condition to be seen; and this beastly disposition gave birth to the most enormous disorders in his capital. He went one morning to the mosque, attended by his court, so very drunk, that he fell down flat on the ground, and vomited up a large quantity of wine. His eunuchs quickly carried him out of the mosque to his palace, where some of his wives, and other sultanas of authority, took the liberty to represent to him the sad disasters which his debauches caused, both in his seraglio and in the whole empire; but he rewarded their zeal with a severe beating. This treatment so exasperated them, that they made no difficulty to apply to the mufti, cadi, and some of the most considerable ministers, and upbraid them with their pusillanimity and servile observance of a prince so unfit and unworthy to reign. New complaints soon came from other parts of the empire; even the Negroes, who had so much reason to be dissatisfied with his brother Abdelmelech, joined with the Moors and Arabs in a resolution to assist him to dethrone his unworthy brother.

A.D. 1728.

Abdelmelech is chosen in his stead.

At length, a general assembly of the most considerable alcaydes having been convened at Mequinez on the 22d of March, Abdelmelech was declared emperor, and letters were dispatched to him inviting him to come and take upon him the reins of government. In the interim they sent circular orders to all the provinces to send deputies to establish some form of government till the new king's arrival. As this step could not be taken without exasperating all the partisans of the now deposed Muley Dehaby, they not only protested against the act of that grand assembly, but strove to disannul it by force of arms, and many bloody skirmishes were fought both in Mequinez and other cities, which obliged that grand council to cause Abdelmelech to be proclaimed emperor, and his son to be nominated his vicegerent, till he appeared in person.

always affable, and even generous in his drunken fits, but brutish and cruel when sober, those who were obliged to approach him, had no other way to escape his fury than by making him drunk as soon as possible (1).

(1) Torres, Boulet, ubi supra. Braithwait, p. 174, & alib. pass.

This

This expedient effectually quelled all tumults; and the young regent immediately ordered forty quintals of flat money to be distributed among the people, especially the Negroes. His father arrived, and made his public entrance, amidst the loudest acclamations of joy, on the 10th of April following. This revolution was, in a great measure, owing to the prime minister of the unfortunate Muley Dehaby, whose extensive power and influence had determined the great assembly to that resolution; and who, in consequence of it, expected no less than to become the new emperor's sole favourite. But finding himself disappointed from the beginning, he laid a new plot to re-enthrone his old master. Whether this accusation was true, or only raised as a handle for disgracing that treacherous minister, it is not certain; but Abdelmelech made it a pretence for ordering his deposed brother to be deprived of his eyes. This measure was, however, strenuously opposed by the Talbs, who plainly told him, that the unfortunate prince having no other crime but that of drunkenness, they thought the stripping him of his crown was punishment sufficient, without depriving him of his sight; upon which the king contented himself with sending him close prisoner to his old palace of Taphilet.

Public entry into that city.

Abdelmelech thinking now he had nothing to fear from that quarter, began to show his natural temper, in treating his ministers with haughtiness, his Moors with scorn and hard usage, his Negroes with hatred and cruelty, his people with tyranny and oppression, and his Christian slaves with uncommon barbarity. For though he was a sober prince, with regard to drinking, and a strict observer of the Mohammedan law, yet he had a great share of fierceness and cruelty in his looks and temper. Some fathers of the redemption, who had brought large sums, and rich presents, and were come to treat about the release of Christian slaves, he caused to be seized and stripped of all their effects; then he ordered them to depart out of his dominions in three days, on pain of being burned alive for having entered them without his permission. He had been scarce three months on the throne, before his cruel usage of the Negroes exasperated their whole body against him. They soon formed themselves into an army of above forty thousand, some say eighty thousand men, horse and foot; out of which they detached a corps of ten thousand to his brother, then at Taphilet, to beg pardon for what they had done against him, and to invite him to resume the imperial dignity. Muley Dehaby, who

His character.

The Negroes re-enthrone his brother.

had by that time raised a small army of about fifteen thousand Moors, put himself at their head, and was soon after joined by the rest of the Negroes. Abdelmelech greatly surprised to see such a vast army so quickly raised, and making long marches towards his capital, made what hasty preparations he could for its defence; but being quickly besieged in it, was forced to retire with his garrison into the alcassare, or *royal castle*. The city was immediately entered, sword in hand, by the enemy, to whom it was betrayed, by the treachery of about four thousand of his troops. The reader will easily imagine, from the fierceness and resentment of these Negroes, what a horrid massacre they committed in that capital. As for Hammed Dehaby, his chief employment was to cause as many of his brother's partizans as fell into his hands, to be nailed alive to the gates of the city, where they expired in the most excruciating torments. After he had glutted his resentment, he gave up the city to be plundered by his Negroes and Moors, during the space of three days. Abdelmelech, who, through the treachery of his troops, had been forced to abandon that city to his fury, soon reached Fez, but was closely besieged in it by his victorious brother, who, flushed with his late success, and made sensible by his past misfortunes of the danger of his former conduct, had closely pursued him thither, at the head of a formidable army, before he, or the citizens, could have time to make the necessary preparations for a siege. He began with making some general assaults; but being vigorously repulsed by the garrison, he saw himself obliged to besiege it more closely on all sides, to cut off all supplies of provision. After three months, famine obliged the inhabitants to capitulate. The emperor insisting on no other terms than their submission, and the delivery of Abdelmelech to him, they readily complied, and brought his brother bound before him. Upon his appearing, every one present, considering the fierceness of the king's temper, expected that he would have immediately sacrificed him to his resentment; especially as he was found to have a pistol and dagger concealed under his garment, but to their great surprize, he delivered him up to a basha, to be conducted to Mequinez under a strong guard, and to be kept closely confined in his house, without any farther tokens of resentment; which singular and unexpected mildness made so great an impression upon his people's minds, that all his former debaucheries and cruelties seemed to be quite obliterated from their remembrance.

Mequinez cruelly plundered.

Abdelmelech besieged in Fez.

Happy

Happy had it been for Muley Dehaby, if he could as easily have overcome his passion for wine; for this it was that ruined his constitution, and brought upon him such an obinate dropsy, as all the efforts of his physicians could not overcome. Having tried in vain a multiplicity of medicines, and finding his end approaching, he caused his brother to be strangled. He himself died on the 29th of March, 1729[k].

The throne was no sooner vacant, than a number of competitors appeared in arms, among whom was Muley Bouffar, the eldest son of Muley Dehaby, who seemed to have much the best pretensions. Notwithstanding which, one of the late Muley Ishmael's wives found means, by the great sway she bore with the grandees, and the vast sums she distributed among the Blacks, to turn the election in favour of her son Abdallah, who, till then, had appeared to be a prince of a mild temper. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor, than Muley Bouffar retired into the kingdom of Suz, fully resolved to dispute the crown with him. On the other hand, Abdallah lost no time to march against him, at the head of a numerous army, and had the good fortune to defeat and take him prisoner, together with a santon, who was at the head of his council. Abdallah spared his nephew's life; and, as some add, gave him his liberty; but beheaded his counsellor with his own hand, exclaiming, "Let us see now whether thy sanctity can save thee from my sabre." After this important victtory, he laid close siege to the city of Fez, which had refused to acknowlege his title. It proved an obstinate and bloody enterprize, and lasted full six months: he was so exasperated at their resistance, that he made a resolution totally to destroy the town; and would surely have done so, if some of his counsellors had not represented to him, that that city had a celebrated santon for its founder, who was so reverenced and prayed to by the whole country, that he could not do it so signal an injury without incurring the hatred and abhorrence of the people, the resentment of the saint, and the curse of the Almighty. Soon after this conquest, the inhabitants of Suz and Tedla came to pay their homage to him, and with some difficulty escaped his resentment for having been so tardy. Having now no measures to keep any longer with his subjects, he began by degrees to discover that tyrannic and cruel disposition, which was natural to him, and which he had

Abdallah mounts the throne.

Defeats, and takes Muley Bouffar.

Besieges, and takes Fez.

[k] Torres, Braithwait, Hist. of Barbary, p. 329.

hitherto concealed under the disguise of mildness, that it might prove no obstacle to his mounting the throne. A considerable alcayde, being accused of having refused to pay his yearly quota of tribute, the king caused him to be brought before him; and, in the presence of his whole court, condemned him to a punishment of his own devising, such a one as had been unpractised, and unheard, if not unthought of, in any part of Barbary, or, indeed, in any nation, ancient or modern. He caused him to be inclosed and sewn up alive in the carcase of an ox new killed, with his head at liberty, that his misery might be the longer protracted. He remained in this horrible situation, raging and roaring with the most exquisite tortures, till the greatest part of his intestines was devoured by the vermin hatched in the putrified flesh of the ox.

Duke Ripperda's arrival at Mequinez.

It was in the reign of this brutal prince, that the duke de Ripperda arrived in Barbary, after his escape from Spain. The design of his coming to the court of Mequinez was, to engage Muley Abdallah in blocking up the two strong fortresses of Ceuta and Mellita, in ruining of the Spanish coasts, and in uniting in a league with the other piratical states of Barbary, to transport an army of Moors into Spain, sufficient to undertake the conquest of that country. His proposal gained credit the more easily with that monarch, as admiral Perez, who had seen him at the Hague, gave Muley a high character of his abilities. It was therefore unanimously agreed in council, that his scheme should be put in execution, and that the whole conduct and preparations for the war should be entirely left to his care.

Ripperda now became a great favourite at court, and was raised to the dignity of basha. Having informed himself by a faithful spy, named Martin, of the state of the Spanish garrisons and fortresses on the Barbary coasts, he proposed opening the trenches before Ceuta. The most experienced officers among the Moors strenuously opposed this enterprize, on account of the many fruitless attempts that had been already made against that place, as well as the vast expence of blood and treasure which the bare blockade of it had cost their monarchs. But when Ripperda explained to them those various and new-invented methods of acting offensively and defensively, of which himself was a thorough master, he easily brought them all over to his opinion; and the siege of that place was unanimously resolved upon without farther delay.

Proposes the siege of Ceuta.

Abdallah

Abdallah nominated the duke commander in chief, and raised some other renegadoes to considerable commissions under him. He also assembled a choice body of infantry, consisting of about ten thousand men, at the head of whom Ripperda marched directly to Ceuta, where he directed every thing with such judgment and unwearied industry, as failed not to inspire the rest of the troops with fresh vigour and courage, insomuch that they now no longer looked upon this fortress as impregnable.

Invigorates the Moors.

As soon as he thought he had sufficiently inspirited his troops, and instructed the engineers how to proceed in the siege, he returned to Mequinez, where he was received with the greatest marks of favour and esteem. His design was to solicit that court for a new supply of provisions, ammunition, and artillery. His motion was immediately seconded by admiral Perez, and agreed to by the council; and the arrival of that convoy so conciliated the hearts and confidence of his Moorish troops to him, that they cried him up as their common father, and the ablest general of the age.

Returns to Mequinez.

Ripperda was now at the summit of credit, when all was overcast again by the arrival of his spy Martin, who brought him the unexpected intelligence, that the Spaniards were preparing to transport an army into Africa to retake the city of Auran, or Oran, if not to extend their conquests still farther.

A D. 1732.

The Spaniards besiege and take Auran.

Abdallah, though not a little surprised at the news, was yet glad that he had so able a general as Ripperda to oppose against the famed marquis of Montemar, who commanded the Spanish forces. On this occasion, however, he was compelled to yield to the superior valour of the Spaniards. This unavoidable disgrace, however, was so far from discouraging him from pursuing his old scheme, that the excessive heats of the country had scarce obliged the Spaniards to quit the field, when he started a double project; one for renewing the siege of Ceuta, and the other for the recovery of Auran; both which he represented to the king as practicable and easy, provided he could engage the free Moors, that is, the Algerines, Tunisens, and Tripolitans, to join heartily in the undertaking. He found little or no difficulty to engage them all in it; and, in a few days after, his couriers returned with the agreeable news, that they were all in full march to join the army before Ceuta. Upon which Ripperda immediately set out, and found them accordingly encamped about two leagues short of that place. Here he was likewise informed, that

Ripperda resumes the siege of Ceuta.

the garrison had received a considerable reinforcement, and had marched out to engage them in the open field. He forthwith resolved to give them battle, for which he made the proper dispositions; and harangued his troops with such eloquence, as seemed to inspire them with double ardour. Certain it is, the Moors behaved on this occasion with unusual bravery and firmness: contrary to their wonted custom, they fought boldly hand to hand, rallied several times, whilst their general was present in every post, distributing his commands, fighting, charging, rallying, and exposing himself every moment to some fresh danger. At length, after a long and bloody action, the Spaniards were totally defeated, and forced to retire to Ceuta in great confusion, after a very great loss of their best forces and officers.

Gains a signal victory.

Opens the trenches before Ceuta.

Flushed with this signal victory, the ambitious basha began to open the trenches in form before Ceuta; and at the same time, sent a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, under the command of Hali, to assist in forming the siege of Auran. But, unfortunately for him, whilst his troops, elevated with their success, lay carelessly straggling along the trenches, and their advanced guard was at a good distance from the head quarters, the governor made a furious sally in the dead of night at the head of six thousand men. The Spaniards quickly drove the Moors out of their trenches, and filled them up, spiked their cannon, plundered their head-quarters, and forced Ripperda to fly in his shirt to Tetuan, leaving the greatest part of his infantry to be cut in pieces by the enemy. The vast number of the slain, the great booty, together with the standards and trophies of honour which the Spaniards carried into the place, disheartened the Moors to such a degree, that they abandoned the enterprize against Ceuta: but towards the latter end of the year, having increased their army to above fifty thousand men, they resolved upon resuming the siege of Auran, in which they proved more successful, as we shall shew in the subsequent history of Algiers.

Surprised in the night, and flies in his shirt.

In the mean time Abdallah, disappointed and defeated in his favourite design against Ceuta, and other prospects with which Ripperda had flattered his ambition, became more tyrannical and cruel than ever. His excesses grew so intolerable, that the Arabs took up arms against him, and gave him a signal overthrow in a pitched battle near the city of Fez, which he revenged by acts of the most barbarous nature against the inhabitants of that place.

His

His mother tried all ways and means in vain to reclaim him; sometimes by prayers and tears, sometimes by severe reproaches, and apprising him of his danger. He made no scruple at last to tell her, that his subjects had no other title to their lives than his will; and that it was one of his greatest pleasures to kill them with his own hand. Her frequent remonstrances made him at length so far forget what he owed to her, not only as a parent, but as a benefactress by whose intrigues and interest he had obtained the crown, that he resolved to rid himself of her at all adventures: of which design, having, by good fortune, got timely intelligence, she found no better expedient to escape his unnatural fury than by pretending a solemn pilgrimage to Mecca.

The general of his Negroes had, upon some discontent, raised a revolt among his troops, on pretence that Abdallah had formed a design against his life, and so pathetically expressed the ingratitude of that prince to him, from whom he had received the greatest services, that they all agreed to dethrone him, and to place Muley Hali, the brother of Hammed Dehaby, on the throne. Abdallah now become as timorous as he was before arbitrary and cruel, not knowing which way to turn, quickly left the city, with a design to take refuge himself among the Alarbs, who had been in rebellion, but on their submission, he treated with unusual clemency. On his way towards them, he was met by eight of their deputies, to offer their services: but they taking the advantage of his present distress, began to make remonstrances to him on his past conduct. Abdallah was so exasperated at the liberty they took, that he killed them all with his own hand, though at that time he was destitute of protection. Mean while Muley Hali, at the head of his Negroes, marching towards Mequinez, entered that metropolis almost without opposition; but was not a little disappointed when he found Abdallah had carried off all his treasure. Part of this, the fugitive prince expended in corrupting a great number of those Blacks, who had but a little while before shewn no less a readiness to drive him from the throne, and whom Hali was not in a condition to bribe at the same high rate. Abdallah was restored to the crown by those who had deprived him of it; and when the Negro general upbraided them for their baseness and inconstancy, they told him, that they did not think Muley Hali a prince worthy to reign. It must be owned, that he had besotted himself by the excessive use of an intoxicating drug,

Dethroned and retires.

Muley Hali set up by the Negroes.

A.D. 1736.

Abdallah restored to the crown.

drug, called by the Orientalists archiach, or archica, not unlike the Turkish opium.

Abdallah had no sooner recovered the crown, than he ran into his old excesses of cruelty. The city of Mequinez was one of the first that felt the dreadful effects of his rage; every individual of the garrison he caused to be beheaded, and the governor's youngest son to be strangled. The father, foreseeing the storm, killed himself, after having first cut the throats of his wives and children, to prevent their falling into the hands of the exasperated tyrant. He ordered the city to be plundered, and the citadel to be razed, for having received his competitor within their walls.

The Negro general raises a fresh revolt.

The general of the Negroes, far from being deterred by these butcheries, from his first design of absolutely stripping him of the regal power, revived his old complaint that his life was threatened; urging at the same time, the necessity there was of setting up Sidi, another prince of the royal blood, on the throne, as Muley Hali was altogether unqualified to manage the reins of government. He was in hopes, that the present ferment would induce not only the Negroes, but the Moors likewise, to join with him in this project; but to his great surprize he found himself deceived. Abdallah had recourse to his old stratagem, and found means, by his large donations, not only to reconcile the Negroes to him, but to engage them to deliver up their general alive into his hands: that unhappy officer, seeing himself thus basely betrayed by his own troops, had recourse to an artifice; which, considering the superstitious devotion of the Moors, he flattered himself could hardly fail of securing his life. He took sanctuary in a mosque much revered, on account of some great santon, to whom it was dedicated; and, putting on the cloaths of the saint, suffered himself to be brought before the emperor in that venerable disguise. Abdallah, though far from being such a strict devotee as his father Muley Ishmael, yet condescended to kiss the holy robes with a seeming respect; but ordering them immediately to be taken off, plunged his spear into his bosom, and called for a cup to receive some of his blood, with a design to drink it in token of revenge. His prime minister took the liberty to represent how much such an action was beneath his dignity; and Abdallah owned he had reason; but obliged the minister to swallow the draught in his name[e]. The general's death, however, did not put an

Betrayed to Abdallah.

A strange instance of barbarity.

[e] History of Barbary, ubi supra, p. 347. Hist. des Cherifs, Paris, 1733, & al.

end

end to Abdallah's fears, much less to the ferment that still reigned throughout the whole empire in consequence of his oppressions and cruelties. The people had some hopes left that Sidi, who had still a strong party in Fez, might, by some unexpected turn of fortune, wrest the crown from him, especially as a general discontent had spread itself among the Blacks, upon account of their being disappointed of those vast sums which they were made to expect upon the delivery of their general. These were, indeed, so large, that the emperor was not then in a condition to pay them, nor even to advance their usual stipends. This consideration soon induced them to enter upon a clandestine correspondence with Sidi's party at Fez; of which Abdalla being apprised, he attempted to crush it in the bud. Having mustered what forces he could get together, he resolved to lay close siege to the place. He carried on his attacks with great vigour; but here he was unsuccessful, the enemy getting ground of him, whilst his army diminished daily, both by losses and desertion, which obliged him at length to retire. The difficulty was how to retreat without exposing himself to the storm that was gathering on all sides against him. In this pressing distress the most expeditious way appeared to him the safest: taking along with him his son, and mother, his favourite wives, and whatever treasure he could amass, he retired to the mountains to wait for some favourable turn of forune.

He was no sooner gone than the Fezians sent to invite the Negroes to come over to the Muley Sidi, assuring them, that he was much more worthy of the crown than his cruel and perfidious competitor; and, what proved a more powerful motive, they engaged he should pay them the four hundred thousand ducats of Abdallah's arrears. This promise failed not to bring them all to his side; and Sidi was now looked upon as firmly seated on the throne, having both Moors and Negroes in his interest. But his breach of promise, and other irregularities, altogether inconsistent with the character which the Fezians had given of him, occasioned soon after a general disgust, which displayed itself at length in open defection. Abdallah did not lose so fair an invitation to appear again in arms in defence of his imperial dignity. He engaged his rival accordingly, at the head of an army assembled in haste, and had the good fortune to give him a total overthrow. Sidi, who received a dangerous wound in the action,

tion, narrowly escaped with his life, and left Abdallah master of the field and of the empire [f].

CHAP. LX.

The History of Algiers, from its Foundation by Barbarossa, down to the present Time.

SECT. I.

A Geographical Description of Algiers.

Algiers, whence so called.

THE Algerine kingdom made formerly a considerable part of the Mauritania Tingitana, described in the Ancient History; styled also Mauritania Cæsariensis, from the city of Cæsarea, built by Juba, in honour of Augustus, who had restored him to his native kingdom.

Algiers, or Argier, hath its name from its metropolis, the only city of note in the whole kingdom; called by the Turks Algezair, and corrupted into Algiers.

How divided by the Arabians.

This kingdom was, soon after its conquest by the Arabs, divided into four principal provinces; viz. 1. Tremecen, Tlensan, or Telensine; 2. Algiers Proper; 3. Bujeyah, vulgarly Bugia; and 4. Tennez, or Tenes; to which some authors add a 5th, viz. Constantina; all which had their names from their respective capitals. But after Algiers became the metropolis of the kingdom, and Tremecen was become subject to it, the Turks, under whose protection the Algerines had put themselves, divided it into eighteen provinces; viz. 1. Algiers Proper; 2. Tremecen; 3. Tennez; 4. Bujeyah; 5. Angad, or Angued; 6. Beni-Arazid; 7. Miliana; 8. Couco; 9. Labez; 10. Tebessa; 11. Human-Bar; 12. Haresgol; 13. Oran, Awran, or Horan; 14. Mostagan; 15. Bona; 16. Sargel; 17. Jigeri, or Gigeri; 18. Constantina. All these are so named from their respective capitals [a].

By the Turks.

Its extent.

The extent of this kingdom from east to west, that is from the town of Tabarca, on the river Zaine, to that of Twunt and the mountains of Trava, is variously comput-

[f] Iid ibid. [a] Marmol Afric. lib. v. cap. 33. Dapper, Davity, Tassy, Morgan, Shaw's Travels, p. 71, & seq.

ed

ted by geographers. Sanson, who bounds it between the Zaine and the Mulyva, or Mulloia, gives it nine hundred miles in length; La Croix, seven hundred and twenty; Luytz, six hundred and thirty; but to name no others, according to the latest and best computation, the utmost length of it amounts to no more than four hundred and sixty miles [b]. They agree somewhat better about its breadth; none of them giving it less than one hundred and fifty miles where narrowest, and two hundred and forty where broadest; but even in this computation, they exceed also the later and more accurate observations: some parts of it, particularly from Telensin to the sea coast, being hardly above forty miles wide; and near the springs of the Sig-Habra and Shellif about sixty; which, in the western part, may be taken at a mean for the extent of what the Arabs call the tel, or *tillage land.* But from Algiers, eastward, it is considerably broader; particularly under the meridians of Bujeyah or Bugia, and Bona, where it extends itself above a hundred miles, especially under that of Jigeri or Gigeri, in latitude 36° 55′, to Luolajah, situate among the mountains of Atlas, in latitude 44° 50′. As to the Algerine dominions beyond the Tel, or more advanced parts of Atlas, they are so uncertain and precarious, that the northern skirts of the Sahara, or Desert, seem to be the proper boundaries on that side. In general, Algiers is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the east by the river Zaine, which divides it from Tunis; on the west by the Mulvya, and the mountains of Trava, which part it from Morocco; and on the south by the Sahara, or Numidian desert [c].

Climate, soil, and product.

The climate of Algiers is, in most parts, so moderate, that they enjoy a constant verdure. The trees begin to bud in February; in April the fruit appears in its full bigness; and is commonly ripe in May. The grapes are fit to gather in June; and their peaches, nectarines, figs, olives, and nuts, in August. But there is a great variety of soil; some parts being excessively hot, dry, barren, and uncultivated. The mountainous parts of Tennez, Bujeyah, and Algiers Proper, are fertile in corn, and other grain, and variety of fruits; and others afford plenty of excellent pasturage, especially the northern

[b] Shaw's Travels, p. 1. & seq. [c] See the Map of Algiers. Shaw, ubi supra, p. 2, & seq. Tassy, Marmol, & al. supra citat.

parts

coasts of Tremecen; whilst the southern side, and those parts at a distance from the sea coasts, are wild and barren, and harbour a great variety of wild creatures, as lions, tigers, buffaloes, wild boars, stags, porcupines, monkies, ostriches, wild fowl, and game. Nevertheless, some of these parts are advantageously situated for trading with Biledulgerid and Negroland.

Various sorts of inhabitants.

The Algerines, inhabiting along the sea coasts, are a strange mixture of various nations; but for the most part Moors and Morescos, driven thither from Catalonia, Arragon, and other parts of Spain. Here are also great numbers of Turks, besides those belonging to the militia, whom poverty sends hither from the Levant to seek their fortune; to say nothing of the Jews, who swarm along the coasts, and a great number of Christian prisoners taken at sea, and sold for slaves. Other Christians there are also who are free, and traffick with the rest of the inhabitants unmolested. The Berebers are some of the oldest inhabitants of these parts, supposed to be descended from the ancient Sabæans, who came hither from Arabia Felix, under the conduct of one of their princes; others believe them to be some of the Canaanites, whom Joshua drove out of Palestine[d]. These are dispersed all over Barbary, and divided into a multitude of tribes, under their respective chiefs; most of them inhabit the mountainous parts, some of them range about from place to place, and live in tents, or portable huts, others in scattered villages, avoiding for the most part, all intermixture with other nations. These are reckoned the richest of all, go better clothed, and carry on a much larger traffick of cattle, hides, wax, honey, iron, and other commodities: they have likewise some artificers in that metal, and weavers. To these we may add the Zwowahs, called by our European authors Azuagues, or Assagues, dispersed all over most parts of Barbary and Numidia; great numbers of whom inhabit the mountainous parts of Couco, Labez, and other Algerine provinces, and lead a kind of wandering pastoral life. These are very poor, yet stout and warlike, and are taken into the service of the government.

Berebers, who, and whence from.

Their way of living, traffick, &c.

The Zwowahs, or Azuagues.

The Moors of the towns.

But the most numerous of all the inhabitants are the Moors and Arabians, of whom we shall now give a short account. The Moors, so called from their ancient coun-

[d] Grammay, lib. iii. cap. 5. Marmol Afric. lib. iii. cap. 17. & seq. Leo Afric. lib. i. p. 5, 6. Dapper, Davity, Tassy, & al.

try

try Mauritania, are of two sorts: those that inhabit the cities and towns, and carry on some commerce, either by land or sea, and under the commission of the dey, beys, or agas, bear offices relating to the concerns of their own nation; some follow trades and manufactures; others are farmers, gardeners, and graziers. They have houses and lands of their own, and may be styled the citizens of the Algerine kingdom; many of whom grow rich enough to purchase estates, and have a considerable share in the ships that cruise in the Mediterranean [e].

Of the country.

The other sort are of the wandering kind, without lands, houses, or patrimony. They are multiplied into a prodigious number of tribes, distinguished either by the names of their chiefs, or the places of their abode, or both. Each forms a kind of itinerant village, or adowar, as they term it; every family of which lives in its particular tent, or portable hut. Each adowar has its cheyk, or chief, who, in conjunction with his assistants, form a sort of petty aristrocacy, and govern the whole community with great equity and tenderness. They live entirely on the produce of such lands as they farm from those we called above the citizens; to whom they pay their rent in kind, whether fruits, herbs, corn, honey, or wax; and the remainder they sell to the neighbouring towns, as opportunity offers. They are particularly skilful in the choice of the most advantageous soil for every season, and no less careful to avoid the neighbourhood of the Turkish troops. Each adowar pays a tax to the dey, in proportion to the number of its families; for which their cheyk is answerable. These wanderers being scattered all over this part of Africa, in Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli, it will not be amiss to give our readers a little farther notion of their manners, religion, and customs.

Pay tribute to the dey.

Their extreme misery, and nastiness.

Their adowars exhibit nothing but filth and misery, a hand-mill to grind corn, a few earthen pitchers, wherein they keep their oil, rice, and flour, and a few mats to sit and lie upon, a pot or two to boil their rice, are all the houshold goods their tents contain; yet each is large enough to contain two or three families, parents, children, servants, horses, cows, goats, poultry, cats, and dogs; only this last creature is obliged to lie out of the tent, to keep guard against the approach of lions, foxes, and other beasts of prey; and to drive away rats, serpents, and other vermin, which are in some parts very

[e] Iidem, ibid.

numerous

numerous and hurtful. The cheyk's tent is only distinguished from the rest by its height, and central situation. These huts being supported by two large posts, form a kind of pavilion; the door of which is made of the boughs of trees. The middle is a small square, which divides the apartments of the Moors from those of their beasts; in the center is the hearth, upon which they bake their cakes, boil their rice, and other food; and round the sides are spread mats of palm trees, which serve for tables to eat at, and beds to lie upon. The tents are covered with sheeps hides, and every thing in them is mean, nasty, and loathsome [f].

Their mean diet.

Their diet consists chiefly of cakes baked on the hearth, rice, pulse, fruits, and milk. They eat little or no flesh, except on some great holidays; and their drink is commonly water: a little oil and vinegar mixed, to soak their bread in, is reckoned a dainty sauce. The men perform all the husbandry work, and go about to sell their corn, fruits, poultry, and other commodities, whilst their women and children take care to feed the cattle, to get in fewel and water, to provide victuals and other necessaries for the family: they likewise keep a vast number of bee-hives under their care, and breed great quantities of silk-worms.

Employment.

Their dress is as mean as their food; that of the men consists only in a haik, or coarse piece of cloth, four or five ells long, which hangs from their shoulders, down to their ankles; to this they add a cap of the same cloth, or some rag, which they twist about the head. The cheyk's dress is a shirt, and cloak all of one piece, which comes down to the calf of the leg, and a cowl upon his head of a finer sort of cloth. The children, girls as well as boys, go quite naked, till they are about seven or eight years of age. While they are sucking, their mothers carry them, often two, in a bag tied behind their backs, when they go to fetch water or wood; but they are generally so stout as to begin to walk by that time they are six months old.

The dress of the Moorish women is only a piece of woollen stuff, which covers their bodies from the shoulders down to the knees. They wear their hair braided, and adorned with glass bugles, coral, glass, fishes teeth, and other such baubles: the bracelets on their arms and legs are either of horn, wood, ivory, or other such mean

[f] Marmol, Dapper, Davity, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.

stuff;

ſtuff; while their cheeks, foreheads, arms, and legs, nay, their thighs and fingers ends, are embelliſhed with black ſpots imprinted in their infancy, by pricking the place with a needle, and rubbing it with ſome ſort of black powder. Their complexion in general is ſwarthy; but their conſtitution robuſt and their temper lively. They marry very young; the ſons at fourteen or fifteen, and the daughters at nine or ten, or even at eight years of age. It is no extraordinary thing to ſee them ſuckling children at ten or eleven, and ſometimes even earlier.

Their fertility.

When a young man hath obtained permiſſion to make his addreſſes to a maiden, he is to bring the number of horſes, cows, ſheep, or other cattle agreed upon, to her parent's hut, where ſhe, without any reluctance, receives him for her ſpouſe; upon which ſome of the by-ſtanders aſking him what his bride hath coſt him, he anſwers, "A virtuous and induſtrious woman cannot be too dearly bought." After mutual congratulations, the young women of the adowar are invited to the feaſt; and the bride being ſet upon a horſe of the bridegroom's, is led to his tent, amidſt the acclamations of the multitude. Being arrived at the door of it, ſhe is offered a mixture of milk and honey to drink, whilſt the reſt of the company ſing her epithalamium, and conclude it with the uſual good wiſhes to the new married couple. The bride then alighting, her companions put a ſtick into her hand, which ſhe thruſts as far as ſhe can into the ground, ſaying, that as the ſtick cannot be removed thence without force, ſo neither will ſhe quit her huſband, unleſs he forces her from his embraces: before he admits her into his tent, he delivers up a flock to her, which ſhe leads to ſome neighbouring paſture, being thus advertiſed, that he expects her to labour, and to take care of the family; and, upon her return, ſhe and her retinue are admitted. The feaſt begins and ends with ſinging, dancing, and other rejoicings till the evening, when the bride is preſented to her huſband, and the company withdraw. She is afterwards to wear over her face a veil during a whole month, and not to ſtir out of the tent till that be over; from which time ſhe enters into that province of the family œconomy that is allotted to the reſt of the married women, who are here excluded from intermeddling with any public matters [g].

Marriages.

Women excluded from public affairs.

Theſe wandering Moors are generally very ſtout and warlike, ſkilful horſemen, and value themſelves very high-

Men ſtout and warlike.

g Marmol, Davity, Dapper, Taſſy, ubi ſupra.

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ly, notwithſtanding their poverty, for not being confined to towns, like the other ſort, whom they look upon as tame ſlaves, always at the mercy of the Turks. Upon any inſult or ill uſage received from a Turkiſh aga, they immediately return it in a hoſtile way, till the town Moors, who cannot ſubſiſt without being ſupplied with proviſions from them, nor upon a diſlike ſecure themſelves from their depredations, mediate an accommodation. To keep up this martial temper among them, the chiefs of every adowar meet in a circle round their cheyk every evening, to diſcuſs the public affairs. Then they divert themſelves with their uſual exerciſes on horſeback; in which they are ſo dexterous, that they can take up any thing from the ground with their lance in full ſpeed. In this exerciſe they continue till the time is come for retiring. Their uſual weapons are a zagay, or ſhort lance, and a broad cutlaſs hanging below the left elbow.

Weapons.

They are commonly ſo addicted to robbing, that one cannot ſafely travel acroſs the country, or at a diſtance from the towns, without a guard, or at leaſt a marabout, that is, one of their prieſts, or monks, for a ſafeguard. For, as they look upon themſelves as the original proprietors of the country, diſpoſſeſſed by the reſt of the inhabitants, and reduced by them to the loweſt ſtate of poverty, they make no ſcruple to plunder all they meet with, by way of repriſal. Notwithſtanding their pretending to be deſcended from the firſt inhabitants of this country, they differ from the Berebers, who lay a much juſter claim to this honour. Theſe laſt have kept themſelves from intermixing with any other nations; but the Moors have mixed not only with the deſcendents of the ancient Africans, but with the ſeveral other nations that have conquered it, down to the eſtabliſhment of the Turks in thoſe dominions[h]. The language of theſe wandering Moors, is a baſe Arabic, and their religion, a corrupt Mohammediſm, for they have adopted a ſtill greater number of ſuperſtitions in their faith.

Differ from the Berebers.

The Arabians in Algiers deſcribed.

The other conſiderable nation ſcattered through all the provinces, not only of the Algerine dominions, but through all the other parts of Barbary, is that of the Arabians. We have given a full deſcription of theſe, their origin, religion, cuſtoms, and language, in our hiſtory of Arabia. Theſe we are now ſpeaking of are a mixture of a variety of tribes, deſcended from thoſe Mohammedan

h Id. ibid.

Arabians,

Arabians, which over-ran this part of Africa; from which being afterwards driven by the Turks, they fled to the mountainous parts of it, to save themselves, their cattle, and effects, where they have enjoyed their liberty ever since; and, by their labour and industry, have improved those barren and desert lands into pleasant and fruitful territories. Like the Moors, they are divided into a multitude of tribes and little governments, under their respective chiefs, and value themselves highly upon their having preserved their blood untainted by mixture with other nations. They express the utmost contempt for those, who, preferring their ancient habitations in towns and cities, submitted to a foreign yoke, whom they call, therefore, in derision, citizens and courtiers; and as they have intermarried with strangers, they are reputed no better than Moors. The Algerines, indeed, who make no distinction between these two sorts of Arabs any more than they do between the wandering and city Moors, call them all four alike by the common name of Moors; in which inaccuracy they have been followed by many of our Europeans, who seem to make no manner of distinction between the Turks, Moors, and Arabians of this kingdom.

Erroneously confounded with the Moors.

The Turks, upon their first subduing this country, knew so little of the mountainous and desert parts of it, that they gave the Arabians an opportunity of seizing upon the passes that lead to the kingdoms of Fez and Tunis; but upon taking a farther survey of it, and raising fortifications on the most advantageous posts, they soon obliged them either to retire or submit. Many of those Arabs agreed to become tributary to them, rather than abandon their old habitations; whilst others, scorning a foreign yoke, retired into the more inaccessible parts of the kingdom, and lived free from tribute. A third set compromised matters with the new conquerors, by a mutual obligation of not molesting each other, as will be seen more fully in the sequel, when we come to speak of the southern government of Algiers, where the greatest part of them are seated. But these two last stand in little or no awe of the Algerine government, who, on account of their martial temper and happy situation, dare not give them any molestation; for, as often as any such attempts have been made upon their freedom, or their effects, either formerly by the Turkish bashas, or since by any of the deys, they immediately concealed their corn, and other provisions, in some spacious caves

Subdued by the Turks but in part.

in the rocks, and drew their cattle towards Biledulgerid, or some other inaccessible mountainous parts, where they could not only bid their enemy defiance, but harrass them likewise by their frequent incursions. There is still another sort of these Arabians that wander along the banks of the rivers Ziz and Hued-Abra, and some other parts of Algiers: these never give themselves the trouble of tilling their ground, but range from place to place for pasture, and live chiefly upon the plunder, not only of villages and adowars, but towns and cities. The province of Oran is much infested by these plundering desperadoes [i].

A desperate and plundering race of them.

The Algerine government.

The Algerines in general live on piracy, and are justly looked upon as the most dangerous of all the African corsairs. They are very greedy of gain, bold, and venturous, cruel to those that fall into their hands, especially to Christians, and make no scruple to violate the most sacred ties, whenever they stand in competition with their interest. The inhabitants of the sea-coast, are no less savage and inhuman, sparing neither wrecks nor sailors, whether friends or foes; only when the latter happen to be Mohammedans, they will bestow a small viaticum upon them to help them homewards: but as to the ship or cargo, though it belong to the Turks, or to the friends of the state, the dey hath not authority enough among them to save any part of it to the owners, except by composition.

The militia deposes the Turkish bashas.

Algiers hath still retained the title of a kingdom, though the government was once republican; as we may gather from the title of their ordinances, edicts, and other public acts, which ran in the following terms: "We the great and small members of the mighty and invincible militia of Algiers, and of the whole kingdom." This change was occasioned by the avarice and tyranny of the bashas, or viceroys, set over them by the Porte, under whose protection they had been so long, that they were become in some measure subject to it; till at length the Turkish janissaries and militia being become powerful enough to suppress the tyrannic sway of those bashas, and the people almost exhausted by the heavy taxes they laid upon them, the former resolved to depose those petty tyrants, and set up some officers of their own at the head of the realm. The better to succeed in this attempt, the militia sent a deputation of some of their chief members to

Sends a deputation to the Porte, and obtain leave to chuse their own deys.

[i] Leo, Marmol, & al. sup. citat.

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the Porte, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, to complain of the avarice and oppression of those bashas, who sunk both the revenue of the state, and the money remitted to it from Constantinople, into their own coffers, which should have been employed in keeping up and paying the soldiery; by which means it was become so weak, that they were in continual danger of being overpowered by the Arabians and Moors, who, if ever so little assisted by any Christian power, would hardly fail of driving all the Turks out of the kingdom. They demonstrated to the grand vizir, how much more honourable, as well as easier and cheaper, it would be for the grand signior to permit them to chuse their own dey from among themselves, whose interest it would then be to see that the revenue of the kingdom was rightly applied in keeping up its forces complete, and well paid, and in supplying all the other exigencies of the state, without any farther charge or trouble to the Porte, than that of allowing them its protection, whilst they, on their part, engaged always to acknowlege the grand signiors as their sovereigns, and to pay them the usual allegiance and tribute. This last proposal was highly relished by that prime minister, as it tended to save the Porte considerable annual sums, establish a better understanding between the two powers, and keep the Turkish forces upon a better footing than ever they had been under their bashas. Upon all which accounts the sultan was easily persuaded by his minister to agree to it, rather than run the risk of a total revolt, and lose the small remains of his authority in that kingdom. By this concession the janissaries became still more powerful, because the choice of those deys was wholly invested in them, and they were to chuse them from among themselves. This elective body, called the douwan, vulgarly divan, or *common-council*, at first consisted of about eight hundred military officers, without whose advice or consent the dey could do nothing; and, upon some urgent occasions, all the officers that resided in Algiers, amounting to above fifteen hundred, were summoned to assist. But since those deys, who may be compared to the Dutch stadtholders, are become more powerful and independent, the douwan is principally composed of thirty yiah-bashas, with the mufti and cadi, upon some emergencies; and, upon the election of a new dey, the whole soldiery, who are then allowed to come and give their votes. All af-

Confirmed by the grand signior.

fairs of ſtate are to be determined by that aſſembly before they paſs into a law, or the dey hath power to put them in execution. But for the laſt thirty or forty years this aſſembly is become of ſo little account, that it is only convened out of formality, and to give an aſſent to what the dey and his chief favourites have concerted beforehand; ſo that in reality the whole power is now lodged in one perſon, only with this ſmall reſtriction, if it be any, that the grand ſignior ſtill ſtyles him his viceroy, or baſha, as he doth the people his ſubjects, and challenges to himſelf the power of approving or diſallowing of his election.

The Algerine deys are choſen out of the militia; the moſt inferior of which hath an equal right and title to that dignity with the higheſt: every bold and aſpiring ſoldier, though taken from the plough or cart, is capable of being elected to the throne; neither need he wait till the preſent poſſeſſor be deprived of it by age or ſickneſs, if he be but able to maintain himſelf upon it with the ſame ſcymitar which he plunges in his predeceſſor's bowels. Ever ſince the deys have been elected by the militia, ſcarce ten of them have had the good fortune to die in their beds; that is, without a muſket ball, or a ſcymitar; even thoſe few who were bleſſed with a more peaceful exit, cannot be ſaid to have been beholden to any higher regard or eſteem which the army had for them, but rather to their own good fortune or foreſight, in nipping a new inſurrection in the bud, by the death of the conſpirators, before they could bring their deſigns into execution. Neither is it their male-adminiſtration, tyranny, or avarice, that haſtens their ruin, any more than the contrary qualities can preſerve them from it. The want of ſucceſs in an enterprize, though ever ſo wiſely concerted and carried on, is a ſufficient crime with thoſe ſuperſtitious and mutinous troops, to cauſe an inſurrection, and coſt the beſt and moſt ſagacious dey, or officer, his dignity and life; nay, they are often cauſed upon no other foundation than a deſire of change, blown up by ſome bold aſpirer to the ſupreme power[k]. This danger, however, helps to keep up in ſome meaſure the credit, or at leaſt, the ſhew of the douwan, which might elſe have been quite aboliſhed ere now; and a dey is often obliged to aſſemble, and conſult them on all import-

[k] Shaw's Travels, p. 311. Vide & De Taſſy, lib. ii. cap. 6. Morgan, & al.

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ant matters, merely to ſcreen himſelf from popular diſcontents; though in reality the chief members of it being for the moſt part his creatures, he may be ſaid to act with a deſpotic authority, there being no appeal from this ſupreme tribunal, but by way of inſurrection, or open rebellion[1]. We have already obſerved, that the whole body of the militia is concerned in the election of a new dey, and that the loweſt perſon in it hath a right to vote as well as the higheſt; and as there are commonly ſeveral candidates to that dignity, the election can hardly be ſuppoſed to be carried on without ſome tumult, if not blows and blood-ſhed. But when once the choice is agreed on, the perſon elected is ſaluted with the words alla barik, that is, *God bleſs*, or *proſper you*; immediately after which ſalutation, he is inveſted with the kaftan, or inſignia of ſovereignty, whilſt the cady, or chief judge, addreſſes him with a congratulatory ſpeech, which is generally cloſed with a pathetic exhortation, importing, that, as it hath now pleaſed the Almighty to raiſe him to the ſupreme dignity of the kingdom, it is now his duty to govern it with juſtice and equity, to preſerve his new ſubjects in their rights and liberties, and to make it his chief care and concern to promote their ſafety and welfare, to the utmoſt of his power.

The manner of his election.

The next officer in dignity and power to the dey is the aga, or general of the janiſſaries, who is one of the oldeſt officers of the army, and enjoys his poſt only two months; at the expiration of which, he is ſucceeded by the chiah, or next ſenior officer, or eldeſt yiah-baſha. During thoſe two months the keys of the metropolis are in his cuſtody; all military orders are iſſued out in his name; and the ſentence of the dey upon any offending ſoldier, whether capital, or only corporal, is to be executed in the court of his palace. As ſoon as he hath finiſhed this ſhort courſe of power and honour, he is conſidered as mazoul, or ſuperannuated, receives his pay regularly, like all the reſt of the militia, every two moons, exempt from all farther duties, except when called by the dey to give his advice at the grand council; to which he hath, however, a right to come at all times when he pleaſes, but hath no longer a vote. The next to him in dignity is the ſecretary of ſtate, who regiſters all the public acts; and next to theſe are twenty-four, or thirty chiah baſhas, or chief colonels, under the aga, who

The aga of the janiſſaries.

Secretary of ſtate.

Chiah baſhas.

[1] Taſſy, lib. ii. cap. 6. Shaw's Travels, p. 311.

ſit next to him in the ſame gallery in the douwan. Out of this claſs are commonly choſen thoſe who are to be ſent on embaſſies into foreign countries, or to convey the dey's orders throughout the realm. Next to them are the eight hundred bolluk baſhas, or eldeſt captains, who are next in rank to be promoted to that of chiah baſhas, according to their ſeniority. The oldak-baſhas, or lieutenants, are next, who amount to four hundred, regularly raiſed to the rank of captains in their turn, and to other employments in the ſtate, according to their abilities. Theſe, by way of diſtinction, wear leather ſtraps hanging down behind to the middle of the back. One rule is ſtrictly obſerved in the rotation of theſe troops from one degree to a higher; viz. the right of ſeniority; one ſingle infringement of which, upon whatever pretence, would cauſe a revolt in the ſoldiery, and endanger the life of the dey. Other military officers of note are the vekilards, or purveyors of the army; the peys, who are the four oldeſt ſoldiers, and neareſt to preferment; the ſoulaks, who are the eight next in ſeniority to them, and are part of the dey's body-guard, and always march before him when he takes the field, being diſtinguiſhed by their carbines and gilt ſcymitars, and the figure of a braſs gun on their caps. All thoſe officers compoſe the douwan, or great council; and of them only the thirty chiah baſhas have a right to ſit in the gallery next after the dey: the reſt are obliged to ſtand on the floor of the hall, or council-chamber, with their arms acroſs, and as much as poſſible without any motion: neither are they permitted to enter it with their ſwords on, or with any other offenſive weapon, to prevent a tumult. As for thoſe who have any ſuit, or other matters to tranſact with the douwan, they muſt ſtand without at the gates, let the weather be ever ſo bad; and there they are commonly preſented with coffee by ſome of the chiahs, or inferior officers, till they are diſpatched.

Bolluk baſhas.

The douwan, or grand council.

The method of their gathering the votes in the douwan is ſomething ſingular. The aga, or preſident, pro tempore, firſt propoſes the queſtion, which is immediately repeated with a loud voice by the chiah baſhas, and from them echoed again by four officers, called baſhaldalas. Then it is circulated from one member of the divan to another, with ſtrange geſtures and contortions; and with a moſt hideous noiſe and din, when the queſtion is not to their liking. From theſe appearances the aga eaſily concludes on which ſide the majority leans, and proclaims

Strange method of gathering the votes.

claims it accordingly. These assemblies seldom end without some tumult, quarrel, or disorder; and no wonder, considering that the far greater part of the members are persons of mean extract, rude and illiterate, biassed by their own private interest and passions. The deys have of late years taken pains to suppress those whom they knew to be ill affected to their measures, and to summon few into the council, besides their own creatures. It hath likewise been a custom with them of late, immediately upon their election, to cause all the officers of the divan, who had opposed it, to be strangled, and to fill up their vacancies with those who had been most zealous in the promoting of it; by which means the far greater part of that supreme court becomes wholly devoted to his will.

Language.

In this, and all other public courts and assemblies, as well as state records, the Turkish is the only language allowed to be used; a circumstance which obliges the Moors and Arabians, as well as the Christians, to make use of interpreters, whenever they have any complaint, suit, or other matters to come before any such courts. But the language of the present natives is a kind of compound of Arabic, Moresco, and their ancient tongue, which was most probably the old Phœnician. However, in their public commerce with other nations, they chiefly make use of the lingua Franca, which is no other than a rude ungrammatical jargon, or mixture of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French, which hath been long used, not only along all these Barbary coasts, but likewise through most parts of the Levant; and this is also of great use to them in their piratical trade, which is above all others that which suits best with their temper, and brings them in the greatest advantage; on which account they are become the most formidable of all the Barbary corsairs. Nevertheless, they suffer free Christians, Jews, either natives or foreigners, Arabians, and Moors, to exercise a fair commerce both by sea and land; together with other trades and manufactures in silk, cotton, wool, leather, and other commodities. But these are mostly carried on by Andalusian, Granadan, and other Spaniards settled in that kingdom, especially about the metropolis. Carpets constitute another manufacture of this country, though much inferior to those of Turkey. There are also at Algiers looms for velvet, tafferies, and other wrought silks; and a coarse sort of linen is likewise made in most parts of the kingdom; of which Susa produces

the finest. Most of those manufactures are consumed at home, some of them, especially those of silk and linen, are so inconsiderable, that they are obliged to supply the deficiency from the Levant and Europe. These parts of Barbary send very few of their commodities, or even product, into foreign markets; their oil, wax, hides, pulse, and corn, being but barely sufficient to supply the country. The consumption of oil, though here in great abundance, is likewise so considerable in this kingdom, that it is seldom permitted to be shipped off for Europe. The other exports consist chiefly in ostrich feathers, wax, hides, wool, copper, rugs, silk sashes, embroidered handkerchiefs, dates, and Christian slaves.

The imports, whether by way of merchandize or prizes, consist chiefly in gold and silver stuffs, damasks, cloths, spices, tin, iron, platted brass, lead, quicksilver, cordage, sail-cloths, bullets, linen, cochineal, tartar, alum, rice, sugar, soap, cotton raw and spun, copperas, aloes, brazil and logwood, vermillion, arsenic, gum-lac, sulphur, opium, anise and cummin seed, mastic, sarsaparilla, aspic, frankincense, galls, honey, paper, combs, cards, dried fruits, and variety of woollen stuffs. But though there is a constant demand of all these commodities, yet only a small quantity of them is imported by the merchants, on account of heavy duties, frequent exactions, precarious payments, and uncertain returns. The misfortune is, that both the manufacturers and shop-keepers, which last are chiefly Moors or Jews, are very severely treated by the government; and often heavily fined for slight, or even pretended faults, a severity which keeps them so poor, that it puts them upon cheating their customers, either in weight or measure; though they are sure, if caught, to be treated with the utmost rigour[n].

The coin here is mostly foreign, their own being only of three kinds, viz. the barba of copper, six of which were formerly worth an asper, but now only half that value. This coin hath the arms of the viceroy stamped on both sides. The asper is a small square piece of silver with Arabic characters stamped likewise on each side, fifteen of which make a Spanish ryal, and twenty-four a dupta, worth about a crown. They have likewise three sorts of gold coin, but these are coined only at Tremecen; viz. the rupee, worth thirty-five aspers; the median, fifty; and the zian, or dian, a hundred, which last was

Gold money coined only at Tremecen.

[n] Shaw's Travels, p. 295.

the

the ancient coin of the kings of Tremecen, or Telenſin, upon which account that province hath alone the privilege of coining theſe golden pieces, which are ſtamped with the viceroy's name, and are alſo current in the kingdoms of Couco and Labez, though theſe have likewiſe their own particular coin. Beſides theſe, the Turkiſh ſultanins of gold, worth about a ducat, the moticales of Fez, about twenty-two pence, the Spaniſh ryals, French crowns, Hungarian ducats, and other European money, are likewiſe current among them. Only it muſt be obſerved, that there is no fixed ſtandard for theſe foreign coins; becauſe ſtrangers compute their value, by what they go for in their reſpective nations. The fixed ſpecies here is the patacachica, or pataca of aſpers (an ideal ſum like our Engliſh pound, or the French livre), worth always two hundred and thirty-two aſpers, the third part of a pataca gorda, commonly of the weight of two piſtoles and an half; but that weight is frequently raiſed or lowered at the dey's pleaſure, or according to the exigence of the government [o].

Foreign coin current.

	Piaſters.	Ryals.
The ſultanins of Algier and Morocco is worth	2	4
The ſequin of Venice	2	6
The cruiſado of Portugal	7	0

	Patacachicas.	Temins.
The Sevil and Mexican piaſter, of which twenty, if full weight, ought to make a pound, is worth	3	7
The piaſter of Leghorn	3	6
That of Tunis	3	4
The pataca gorda, or current piaſter of Algiers	3	0

	Aſpers.
The temin, or ryal chica, is the eighth of a pataca chica, and worth	29
The carout, or half temin	14
The pataca chica	232
The pataca gorda	696

The Jews have the ſuperintendency of the ſilver mint at Algiers, for which they pay a round ſum yearly to the dey [p].

[o] Taſſy, lib. ii. cap. 11. p. 250, & ſeq. ibid. Baudrand, Corneille, & al. ſup. citat.

[p] Vide De Taſſy,

We

The principal rivers of Algier. Zha.

We have already given some account of the rivers of this kingdom in the ancient history of Mauritania Tingitana: but, as the limits of the two are different, we shall here subjoin a short description of the principal streams belonging to this kingdom, 1. The first is the Zha, or Ziz, which runs across the province of Tremecen, and the desert of Angued, and falls into the Mediterranean near the town of Taberita, where it has the name of Sirut. 2. Haregol, supposed the Sign of Ptolemy, comes down from the Great Atlas, crosses the desert of Angued, and falls into the sea about five leagues from Oran. 3. Mina, supposed the Chylematis of Ptolemy, a large river which runs through the plains of Bathala, waters the city of its name, and falls into the sea near the town of Arzew. 4. The Shellif, Zilef, or Zilif, a large river, which, descending from mount Gnanexeris, runs through some great deserts, the lake of Titteri, and the frontiers of Tremecen and Tenez, and falls into the sea a little above the town of Mostagan. This is supposed to be the Chinataph of the ancients, inhabited on both sides by Arabs, who are rich and warlike, and can bring two or three thousand horse into the field. 5. The Celef, supposed to be the antient Carthena, falls into the sea about three leagues west of Algiers, after a short course of eighteen or twenty leagues. 6. The Hued-al-quivir, supposed to be the Nazebata, or Nasaba, of the ancients, called by the Europeans Zinganor, runs down with a rapid course, through some high mountains of Cuco and Abez, and falls into the sea near Bujeyah. It abounds with variety of fish, which is nevertheless neglected, on account of the great plenty caught on those coasts. 7. Sef-Gimmar, or Suf-Gimmar al Rumniel, supposed the Ampsaga of Ptolemy, hath its spring on mount Aurason the confines of the Atlas, thence runs through some barren plains, and the fruitful fields of Constantina, where it receives some other rivers which greatly increase its streams; thence, sliding northward along the ridges of some high mountains, it falls into the sea a little east of Gigeri. 8. The Ladog, or Ladeg, runs down from mount Atlas through part of Constantina, and falls into the sea a little eastward of Bona. 9. Guadi, or Guadil-Barbar, springs near the head of Orbus, or Urbs, in Tripoli, runs through Bujeyah, and falls into the sea near Tarbarea. It is supposed by some to be the Tusca, or Rubricatus, of the ancients. We

Haregol.

Mina.

Shellif.

Celef.

Hued-al-quivir.

Suf Gemar.

Ladog.

Guadil-barbar.

• Shaw's ttavels, p. 92, & seq. ᵖ Dapper, ubi sup. p. 160.

omit

omit ſundry others of leſs note; and as to the Malva, or Maluja, which divides Algiers from the kingdom of Fez, we ſhall give an account of it when we come to ſpeak of the latter. We do not find, however, that the Algerines are very ſolicitous to make the beſt advantage they might of thoſe that belong to them, though many of them are large enough, and of a ſufficient extent, to be made ſerviceable in carrying on a communication between the inland country and the ſea coaſts [q].

Few of them improved for commerce.

The Algerine religion at preſent differs only from the Turkiſh, in cheriſhing a greater variety of ſuperſtitions. Theſe African ſtates had been converted from their ancient idolatry to the Chriſtian faith, ever ſince the fourth century, when ſome Sicilian and Puglian lords, who had ſeized on part of Barbary, firſt introduced it there. What a quick progreſs it made ſoon after, may be gueſſed from the number of African biſhops that met at the council of Carthage, ann. 411, amounting to two hundred and eighty-ſix, beſides about one hundred and twenty more that did not aſſiſt. But the church was ſoon after infected with Arianiſm, and other hereſies, by the Vandals, and other northern nations that paſſed thither from Spain. At length the Arabs brought in Mohammediſm, which they propagated by the ſword, about the beginning of the ſeventh century, and it prevails to this day.

The religion of the Algerines.

The Algerines acknowlege the Koran as the rule of their faith and practice, but are generally remiſs in their obſervance of it. They have three principal officers, that preſide over all religious matters; viz. the mufti, or high prieſt; the cadi, or chief judge in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and ſuch other matters as the civil and military power turns over to him; and the grand marabout, or head of the Maraboutic order, which are a kind of eremitical monks, in ſuch high veneration among them, that they bear an extraordinary ſway not only in moſt private families, but even in the government. Theſe three officers have their ſeats in the great douwan next under the dey, and on his right-hand. There they are allowed to give their opinions in all difficult and important matters of the ſtate, but without the liberty of voting with the reſt of the members. Thoſe that relate purely to religion, are uſually referred to them; and their deciſions, if unani-

[q] Sanſon, & de Liſle, Atlas Geogr. Dapper, Davity, p. 167.

mous,

mous, are looked upon as binding, and admit of no farther dispute[r].

Strange superstitions.

A great deal of that superstition, which reigns throughout this kingdom, is, not without great reason, imputed to the pride, avarice, and knavery, of these marabouts, whom the people imagine to be inspired by demons, and hold in such esteem, that they think it an honour to their women to be debauched by them. Those that travel are glad to provide themselves with one or more of them, as a sure guard against the most desperate banditti; and thus protected, they may cross the most dangerous woods and deserts, without fear of insult. These marabouts are known by their dress; they neither shave their heads[s] or beards, and wear a plain long robe, with a short cloak thrown over it. Much the same regard the Algerines pay to their madmen, idiots, and lunatics, whom they esteem as inspired saints, and peculiar favourites of God. They place great merit in frequent washings of their bodies, in the length of their fastings, and in their charity to beasts. On the other hand, they deem it a sin and defilement to carry the Koran below the girdle, to let their water drop upon their cloaths, to write with a pen instead of a pencil, to have any printed books by them, or any pictures and statues either of men or beasts, to use bells, to let Christians, especially women, set foot in their mosques, to exchange a Turk for a Christian, to touch any money, or enter into any common business, or even to staunch blood or dress a wound before the morning prayers are ended; to strike the ground with their foot when they play at foot-ball; to eat snails, which they esteem sacred; to chastise their children in any other part than the soles of their feet, or to sleep with their chamber-door shut. Sodomy they do not look upon as a breach of their law, since it is a reigning vice amongst them, from which neither priests nor laymen of any rank are exempt.

The dress of their men and women.

Their dress is very plain and light, especially among those of the common sort. But the Turkish persons of distinction affect a more sumptuous apparel of fine cloth or silk; their vests richly flowered, their turbans curiously accommodated, and their legs covered with boots of fine shining leather. The women's garments differ only from those of the men in their lightness and length, their

[r] Vide & Tassy, Algiers, p. 88. & seq. & Shaw, ubi sup. p. 305, & seq. [s] Leo, Marmol, Davity, Dapper, Tassy, p. 89, & seq.

shifts

ſhifts and gowns reaching quite down to their feet; their hair is commonly tied behind, and adorned either with jewels, or common trinkets, according to their rank or circumſtances, over which they wear a cap of ſilk or linen. They are likewiſe fond of adorning their necks, arms, and wriſts with collars and jewels, and their ears with large pendants. The ſharifs, who are deſcended from Mohammed, have the privilege of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by their turbans, which are of green ſilk; and the pilgrims, who have performed their voyage to Mecca, and are eſteemed agi, or ſaints, likewiſe wear ſome mark of diſtinction in their dreſs. As for that of the common people, it conſiſts of a linen pair of drawers over their ſhirts, and an open white woollen jacket, with a kind of cape or hood behind, like that of our women's capuchins. Some wrap themſelves up in black mantles, which reach down to their knees.

Way of travelling.

None but the viceroy, and ſome of his chief officers, are allowed to ride on horſeback, at leaſt in the metropolis, and other places of concourſe. The reſt muſt either ride on aſſes, or trudge on foot. As for the women, when they go abroad, they uſually throw thin linen veils over their faces, which they faſten to the girdle, ſo that they are not known. Thoſe of a higher rank are conveyed about in litters made of oſier and twigs, and covered with painted cloth; but ſo low, that they muſt ſit croſs-legged in them, yet wide enough to contain two perſons in that poſture. This way of travelling is much uſed in their pilgrimage to Mecca; ſo that they can ſee without being ſeen, and travel free from wind, duſt, and rain, as well as from the too great heat of the ſun's beams [t].

The Revenue of the Dey, &c

The dey of Algiers pays no other revenue to the Porte than a certain number of fine boys, or youths, and ſome other preſents, which are ſent thither yearly. His own income is variouſly computed; and, in all likelihood, riſes and falls according to the opportunities he hath of fleecing and oppreſſing both natives and ſtrangers: ſome affirm it amounts to no more than forty thouſand ducats, whilſt others raiſe it to four hundred thouſand, and others to ſix hundred thouſand. Doctor Shaw hath computed the taxes of the whole kingdom at three hundred thouſand dollars; but ſuppoſes, that the eighth part of the

[t] Vide Grammay. lb. vii. cap. 10. Davity, p. 194 Dapper, p. 178. Taſſy, p. 298.

prizes,

prizes, the effects of those persons who die without children, joined to the yearly contributions raised by the government, presents from foreigners, fines and oppressions, may bring about as much more [u]. According to Tassy, his whole revenue does not exceed six hundred and fifty thousand piastres; a circumstance which he ascribes to the avarice of the provincial governors, who remit to the public treasury but a very small part of what they raise on the subjects [w].

Reigning corruption and oppression.

Justice is no less venally administered here, with respect to the punishment of offenders, than it is with regard to property; and is more partially so towards the Mohammedan soldiery. These are seldom put to death for any crimes, except rebellion and revolt; in which cases they are either strangled with the bow-string, or hanged upon iron hooks. In lesser offences they either fine them, or stop their pay; and, if officers, reduce them to the rank of common soldiers, whence they may gradually raise themselves again to their former stations. A woman guilty of adultery, has a halter tied about her neck, with the other end fastened to a pole, by which she is held under water till she is suffocated. The bastinado is likewise used upon small offenders; and is given either upon the belly, back, or soles of the feet, according to the nature of the crime, or the pleasure of the cadi or judge, who likewise appoints the number of strokes to be given [x].

But the most dreadful of all punishments are those they inflict on the Christians and Jews for certain offences; such as speaking against Mohammed, and his religion; for which they must either turn Mohammedans, or be impaled alive. Those who afterwards apostatize are still more severely tortured, being either burned or roasted alive, or thrown down from the top of the city walls, where they are caught hold of by iron hooks, some by the ears, others by the ribs, arms, or other parts of the body, and hang several days in the most exquisite torture. Killing a Turk in a scuffle, and fomenting a rebellion against the state, are likewise punished with impaling or burning; and those slaves, who attempt to make their escape, are tortured to death in the most cruel manner, at the discretion of their masters. A Moor found guilty of robbery, or burglary, has the right hand cut off, and hung about his neck, and rides through the city on an ass, with

[u] Shaw's Travels, p. 314. [w] Tassy, p. 298, & seq. [x] Iidem ibid. Vide & Shaw, ubi supra, p. 315, & seq.

his

his face towards the tail. Here likewise is inflicted the inhuman punishment of sawing in sunder, by tying the condemned person between two boards of the same length and breadth, and beginning at the head. A person of distinction, who had been ambassador at our British court, and well known to the officers of the navy, and garrison of Gibraltar, was, it seems, put to that cruel death not many years ago [z]. Besides the dey and great douwan, in whom the supreme power was lodged, every province had a basha or bey, who acted under the former; and a douwan, with an aga at the head of it, who acted under the latter; and by these all matters concerning their respective districts were regulated and decreed; but from them an appeal might be made to the viceroy, basha, and his council; and from these to the chief aga, and the great dowan. But since the dey is become so despotic of late, we cannot be sure whether these inferior douwans still subsist: we only learn, that he keeps three bashas, or lieutenants, under him; one in the east, the second in the south, and the third in the west; who make a circuit every year through their respective governments, about the latter end of the summer, at the head of a small army, to gather the taxes, and punish with military execution those that refuse to pay. All the formality used in the douwan, and other courts, is hearing the complaint and witnesses; immediately after which they proceed to give sentence, there being neither lawyers nor attornies to retard the administration of justice. When women have any suit they come veiled, and stand before the gates of the douwan, crying aloud, Char Alla! that is, *justice in God's name*; and these, come generally accompanied with a crowd of their own sex, sometimes to the number of one hundred, or more, to back their petition with their joint outcries. As for strangers, they have their own laws and judges among themselves; the Christians have their consuls; the Jews, their presidents; and the Arabs, Moors, and others, their own chiefs; but the douwan is still supreme judge, to which they appeal occasionally. There is a considerable number of merchants, of various nations, in the maritime towns; that of Algiers is computed to have above three thousand families of them [a], who keep about two thousand open shops

Inferior Dowans.

[z] Shaw, ubi sup. p. 316. [a] Dieg. de Hoedo, Topogr. Algier. Marmol, Grammay, lib. vii. cap. 7. & 29. Dapper, Davity, Tassy, &c.

in

in the two chief markets; and the Jews quarter, which consists of about two hundred and fifty houses, contains at least eight thousand persons. Christian slaves are very numerous, not only in the metropolis, but in most parts of the kingdom, the corsairs continually bringing fresh supplies. As soon as they are made prisoners, the corsair makes a strict enquiry into their country, condition, and quality; after which examination, having stript them almost naked, he orders them to be brought to the dey's house, whither the European consuls repair, to examine whether any of them belong to their respective nations; and reclaim them if they were only passengers. But if they have served for pay to any nation at war with that republic, they cannot be released without paying their full ransom. Of these the dey hath the choice of every eighth man, and chuses those who have useful trades, as surgeons, carpenters, &c. because these sell for a greater price. The rest, being left to the owners and captors, are carried to the besistan, or slave-market, where a price is set upon them according to their profession, age, strength, and ability. From thence they are led to the court before the dey's palace, and there sold by auction; and whatever is bid above the price set upon them belongs to the government. An iron ring is put round one of their ancles, and a short or a long chain fastened to it, according as they suspect them more or less likely to attempt their escape. If any of them can procure a little money from their friends, or by way of charity, they are allowed to keep taverns, or rather wine cellars, paying a certain tribute to the dey, according to the quantity they vend; for the Algerines allow themselves the use of wine; and these, and Turks, Moors, and Christians, will repair to, and dispense with, the meanness of the place, and its accommodations, for the sake of the liquor; so that many of these slaves become rich enough in time to purchase their liberty, though they are obliged, besides their tribute to the dey, to contribute towards the maintenance of their poor diseased brethren, and of the Christian chapels that are allowed for their use. As for the rest, who have neither trades, nor can put themselves in some way of living, they are used with great severity, fare and work very hard all day, and at night are shut up in their baths, and other public prisons, where they lie on the bare ground, without any other covering than the sky: so that they are sometimes almost stifled in mud and water. In the cities and towns they are employed in the hardest and lowest kinds

Every eighth slave belongs to the dey.

kinds of labour. In the country they draw the plough, instead of oxen or horses, and work at other hard branches of agriculture. The women slaves are treated with less severity; and, if handsome and witty, are commonly made concubines, and sometimes gain a perfect ascendancy over their masters. Those that have neither youth, nor beauty, are usually consigned to some of the lower offices of the kitchen or family, according to their capacity; and are liable to be severely chastised for every slight miscarriage, especially in point of cleanliness, which they affect, in common with the Turks, to a very high degree, in their cloaths, table, furniture, and utensils. Popish priests and monks are commonly used with more gentleness, because better supplied with money, by means of which they are exempted from labour and other hardships. But whenever any Christian prince declares war against that government to which they belong, they are the first who fall the unhappy victims of their resentment and cruelty.

The women lead an idle life.

The Algerine women, especially those of the richer sort, lead an easy indolent life, sitting and chatting upon their sofas, or going to the baths, and visiting the tombs of their near relations, or those of their famed saints; or walking in their gardens and summer-houses, which, though not elegant, yet are adorned with variety of verdure, flowers, fruits, shady walks, and other delightful accommodations. And here their husbands spend most of their spare time with them in smoaking, drinking coffee, and other recreations [b]. Although the Koran permits the men to have as many wives as they can maintain, yet an Algerine is contented with two, or at most three. They are seldom allowed to see them before marriage, but hear them described by some female relation, or friend, intrusted to transact the conjugal bargain; which, when concluded on both sides, the bridegroom sends some presents of fruits and other refreshments, to his future bride, invites and feasts her relations in the best manner, according to his rank, and with dancing and music after the Moorish taste. On the nuptial day she appears in all her richest ornaments; her hands, arms, and face painted with red and white, seated on a sofa, surrounded by a number of other women, all richly dressed. At night she is conveyed under a veil, canopy, or sedan, to the bridegroom's house, attended with the same female retinue,

Their weddings.

[b] Iidem ibid. vide Grammay, ubi sup. cap. 7.

dancing to the ſound of pipes and tabors. Here he receives and conducts her to a private apartment, while the reſt of the company ſtand without, waiting till the uſual tokens of her virginity are brought out. Theſe are no ſooner received, than the ſame company carries them in triumph through the whole city, attended with the ſame muſic and dances; whilſt her parents and relations congratulate themſelves upon this teſtimony of her virtue [c].

The Mooriſh phyſicians are ignorant empirics who pretend to cure diſeaſes by ſimples and charms. When the ſick perſon draws near his end, they turn him towards the eaſt, and ceaſe not to pray to Mohammed till he expires. They waſh the dead body with warm water and ſoap, then put on it, a white ſhirt, a pair of white drawers and ſocks, and a ſilken robe and turban. In that dreſs it is carried on a bier to the burying place, attended by the relations and friends. There is no other diſtinction of mourning uſed; except that the women cover their faces with a veil ſome few days, and the men wear their beards a whole month. They are three days in their houſes without lighting any fire, during which time the near relations of the deceaſed make frequent viſits to his tomb, and diſtribute bread and other alms to the poor. They likewiſe carry thither a kind of flint ſtones, commonly found along the ſea ſhore, and throw them upon the grave, crying out Celem Allah! that is, *light of God*; which exclamation they accompany with loud outcries, and other tokens of grief; and if the deceaſed be a perſon of diſtinction, they commonly cauſe ſome encomiums to be engraven on his tomb-ſtone, intermixed with appoſite texts of the Koran (C).

Burials.

Of the richer ſort.

The

[c] Iidem, ubi ſup. [d] Grammay, ubi ſup. Davity, Dapper, &c.

(C) Theſe tombs, which are moſt commonly out of the cities or towns, are very neat and decent; and ſome of them are adorned with rich carvings, ſtatues, and other ornaments: moſt of them have chapels, or oratories, to which both men and women repair, eſpecially on Fridays, which is their ſabbath. Near them are the cells of the marabouts, or monks, who are always there ready to aſſiſt their devotions, and receive their charitable alms for the dead.

Among thoſe numerous monuments that are to be ſeen without the walls of the city of Algiers, is that of the famed lady Cave, daughter of count Julian, of Bœtica, a woman of ſingular beauty, who being raviſhed by Rotheric, the laſt king of the Viſigoths in Spain, in

The ſtrength of this kingdom conſiſts in their land and ſea forces; eſpecially the latter. They have but few cities of note or ſtrength, and ſtill fewer garriſons, in ſome inconſiderable forts either on the coaſt, or old caſtles in the inland parts, poorly fortified, and worſe guarded, to keep the Moors and other nations in awe. We have already ſpoken of the janiſſaries, or militia, who have engroſſed all the power into their own hands, as being the only perſons who have the privilege of chuſing the dey. Beſides theſe, the government entertains a number of troops, moſtly Moors, who attend the three grand baſhas, or lieutenants, under the dey in their reſpective provinces, and aſſiſt them in gathering the taxes from the people, by which all the ſoldiery and officers, civil and military, are chiefly maintained. Theſe taxes are, on account of the ſcarcity of coin, moſtly received in kind, as grain, cattle, and fruits. Theſe troops are neither allowed to vote in the dey's election, nor enjoy any of thoſe other privileges belonging to the janiſſaries, who have engroſſed to themſelves the whole power and management of the kingdom; ſtyling themſelves effendi, or *nobles*, though moſt of them are men of the loweſt and ignobleſt rank and character: for as their deficiency is ſupplied by new recruits, which the dey ſends for every five or ſix years from the Levant, the greateſt part of them are men of broken fortunes, poor ſhepherds, or out-laws. The dey hath, indeed, power, on any emergency, inſtead of theſe Levant Turks, to inroll the cologlies, or coulolies, who are the ſons of ſuch ſoldiers as have been permitted to marry at Algiers; but ſince theſe made once an unſucceſsful attempt on the government, they have not been ſo much encouraged; and when they are, the ſtate excludes them from the honour of being choſen dey, aga of the janiſſaries, or to any other conſiderable poſt [e].

The ſtrength and forces of the government.

The high privileges of the Turkiſh ſoldiers.

Beſides the privileges already mentioned peculiar to the janiſſaries, they are allowed to have their quarters in ſome

[e] Shaw's Travels, p. 312, Taſſy, Marmol, Dapper, & al. ubi ſup.

in revenge of which injury ſhe invited the Saracens thither; who, with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, ſoon ſubdued the whole country, and held it in ſubjection during ſeveral centuries (1).

(1) Vide Corneille, ſub Algiers.

of the fineſt ſquares in the capital; and are maintained and ſerved by ſlaves at the government's expence. Their ſtipends are duly paid every two moons; and they are allowed to buy their proviſions one third cheaper than any other inhabitants. They not only treat the Jews and Chriſtians with haughtineſs and inſolence, but the Moors alſo, though of their own religion: however, it is plain that they have not yet been able to ſubdue them all, there being a much greater number of them, as well as of the Arabs (D), and other nations, who, either by reaſon

(D) Theſe free Arabs are frequently confounded by our writers with the Moors before mentioned, and no wonder, ſeeing the Turks call them both by the ſame name. We have already obſerved, that ſome of them live in tents, and often ſhift their habitations for the convenience of their flocks. Others live in villages, build very neat houſes, and carry on a gainful commerce. Both have their cheyks, or chiefs, by whom every adowar, or community, is governed. When the Turks made themſelves maſters of this kingdom, they reduced ſome of them under tribute, and others they obliged to live peaceably with them.

Thoſe that live in villages are moſtly ſeated about Mount Atlas; and the wandering tribes in the deſerts, near the kingdom of Tunis and Fez, with which they carry on a large and gainful commerce, particularly in their fine horſes, which they tame, breed, and manage with great dexterity. Theſe live in handſome tents, go finely clad, eſpecially their women; who, beſides their other finery of collars, and bracelets, paint their faces, necks, arms, and legs, and even their fingers ends. They pretend to be the untainted offſpring of the ancient Arabs, and to have preſerved their mother tongue in the greateſt purity. They are great aſtronomers, and poets; their cheyks themſelves encouraging with honours and rewards thoſe that excel in thoſe arts. Many of them are great proficients in them, and their writings, in praiſe of agriculture and the paſtoral life, as well as in celebration of their victories, and amours, they cauſe to be collected into volumes, and taught in their ſchools.

They profeſs the Mohammedan religion, but with a ſtrange mixture of ſuperſtition introduced into it by the marabouts. They take much delight in hunting wild creatures, their country abounding with lions, leopards, bears, tigers, porcupines, oſtriches, elks, ſtags, wild aſſes, and cows. Theſe two laſt they eſteem a delicious food; but their moſt uſual diet is the milk of their flocks, honey, fruits, pulſe, and now and then a lamb, or kid. They are warlike, but have no fire-arms. They uſe the bow, ſhort lance, and cutlaſs. Whenever they go to engage an enemy, they carry with them their wives,

reason of their advantageous situation among inaccessible mountains and deserts, or their vicinity to other kingdoms, have not only bid a constant defiance to the Turkish yoke, but even ventured to make frequent incursions into several territories that are subject to it [d]: and it is to suppress these, as well as to extort the taxes from the rest, that they keep such a number of forces in the three districts abovenamed; which are, however, mostly under the command of Turkish officers.

Of the Algerine forces, and how paid.

All these military officers, from the dey himself, down to the lowest rank, have no other settled salary than the soldiers closed pay, so called, because it admits of no farther augmentation, and amounts to eighty saims for every two moons: they come and receive it duly at the hall of the douwan: but every office hath some perquisites annexed to it besides, arising from imports, exports, anchorage, the sales and ransoms of slaves, and other commercial duties. To these we may add certain donations, begun at first to gain some private ends, but since grown into a settled custom; presents made to the dey, or the douwan, by foreign courts, or private persons to obtain a post, or favour, or mitigate a punishment Those Turks that have been raised to the rank of mazoul aga, or to such employments as exempt them from farther services, as well as those who have been wounded or maimed in the service, have their full pay continued as long as they live, and may settle in any part of the kingdom; but if they quit the service without any real cause, before they have attained to that rank, they forfeit half without recovery. Every soldier, besides his pay, is allowed to follow some handicraft, merchandize, or other calling he likes, or to live quietly at his own home; but must be ever in readiness to attend the service of the state when called to duty. The discipline of the Turkish soldiery in time of war is generally strict and severe. They have their cavalry, infantry, and artillery, as we have in Europe. Their army is commanded by an aga, who hath a chaya and two chiaous under him; all of them appointed by the dey. One motive that induces them to fight more desperately against the Christians than any other enemy is, that those who are taken by them are never exchanged, or redeemed,

[d] Marmol, vol. ii. Dapper, L. Tassy, cap. 2 & 3.

wives, children, and family, made slaves may make them that the fear of their being fight more courageously (1).

(1) Leo Afric. lib. ix. Marmol, Davity, Dapper, Tassy.

but looked upon as dead to the state; and their effects accordingly seized by it, if they have neither children nor brothers to claim them[e]. The Algerines are still more formidable at sea. The corsairs, though they are not allowed any concern in the affairs of state, nor in the election of the dey, yet are held in great esteem, on account of the prizes they continually bring in, which are one main source of the public revenue, and the means of procuring them respect from the Christian powers for the security of their trade. Their navy consists commonly of twenty ships; only one of which belongs to the government, and is assigned to the admiral: she is styled the Deylik or *royal ship*, and hath her particular store-houses. All the rest belong to private persons, and have likewise their store-houses well provided. As their country affords but little timber, except what is fetched as far as from the wilds of Biledulgerid, or the province of Bujeyah, they content themselves with making their keels and bottoms with it, and supply the insides and upper works with fragments of the prizes they make. These they carefully break up to save both timber, and nails; by which means they can build a vessel at a small charge.

Number of ships;

how equipped and kept;

how supplied with naval stores.

Besides these supplies from their captures, the English consul furnishes them with powder, balls, bombs, firearms, anchors, cordage, and all other naval stores; and takes in return corn and oil for the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, no nation but the British being allowed to carry corn out of Algiers[f] (E).

The captains of those cruizers, who are generally settled officers, though excluded from matters of state, have commonly a share in their ships, if they be not the sole owners of them, and are accordingly allowed to fit out

[e] Tassy, ubi supra, chap. 12. Hist. of Algiers, p. 205, & seq.
[f] Tassy's Hist. of Algiers, ch. 14, &c.

(E) The goods imported into Algiers by us, and other Europeans, are wrought silks, gold and silver stuffs, damasks, linen and woollen cloths, spices, brass, copper, and tinwares, quick-silver, ammunition, and sea-stores of all sorts; cochineal, copperas, sugar, Brasil and red wood, alum, galls, vermillion, sugar, brandy, and other spirits, opium, gums, dried fruits, paper, and other less considerable articles.

In return for which we receive fine wool, ostrich feathers, skins of wild and other beasts, dates, and Christian slaves (1).

(1) Hist. of Algiers, chap. 18, and seq.

when

when they pleaſe, and cruize where they will; but with this reſtriction, that they ſhall attend the ſervice of the ſtate when called to it, either to tranſport men or proviſions, follow the dey's orders, or even ſerve the grand ſignior; and all this at the owner's charges. Another reſtraint they are under is, that they have an aga bachi, or ſome old experienced officer appointed by the dey to act as aga, without whoſe conſent they can neither give chace, nor return, nor even puniſh ſailors. At their return from a cruiſe, this aga makes his report how the captain hath behaved; who, if found guilty of any miſdemeanor, is ſure to be puniſhed for it; witneſs Meſomorto, who, though afterwards dey, received five hundred baſtinadoes, and was immediately diſpatched upon a new cruiſe to retrieve his character [f] (F).

Prizes how diſpoſed of.

The government claims an eighth part of all the prizes, ſlaves, cargo, and veſſel; the reſt being divided amongſt the proprietors and ſhip's company. They are very defective in accommodations and proviſions, having neither hammocks or cheſts on board, nor any other food but biſcuit, water, and a little rice. They even value themſelves upon deſpiſing the nicety of the Chriſtians, and on their being able to carry on their piratical trade without thoſe conveniencies [g]. Whatever paſſengers are in the ſhip at the taking of a prize, they are entitled to a ſhare, let them be of what country or religion they will, upon a notion, that probably, by ſome ſecret direction of Providence, their ſucceſs might be owing to ſome of thoſe ſtrangers. All the ſhips officers from the rais, or captain, down to the gunners and quarter-maſters, muſt be either Turks, or at leaſt couloulis; the Moors not being admitted to come upon the quarter-deck, or into the gun-

Paſſengers intitled to a ſhare in their prizes.

[f] Iid. ibid. [g] Iid. ibid.

(F) Their uſual cruiſes on the Mediterranean are in the ſtreights of Gibraltar, the capes of Molinos, Gat Palos, Corſa, and Caſſa, St. Martin and St. Sebaſtian; the iſlands of Majorca, Minorca, Ivica, and St. Peter; Genoa river, the coaſts of Naples, Eccleſiaſtical State, Sicily, Trapan, and the Adriatic Gulf.

On the ocean to Cadiz, Lagos, Capes St. Vincent, la Roche, and Finiſterre; the Canaries, Madeiras, and Azores. But when any of the enemies ſhips are cruiſing in the Mediterranean, they commonly confine themſelves to the coaſts of Portugal and the Canaries (z).

(z) Iidem ibid.

room, unless sent for by the rais, or some inferior officer. But the Christian slaves are allowed to act as seamen, or under officers, and to have a share or more, according to their behaviour and abilities [h].

SECT. II.

The Division of the Kingdom of Algiers.

The division of the Algerine kingdom.

WE have already taken notice that this country hath undergone a great variety of divisions, according to the different lords that have ruled over it, Romans, Christians, Arians, Saracens, and Turks, which hath occasioned that great difference we meet with in those authors that have written at different times upon that subject. The greatest division was into the eighteen provinces we have lately particularised, which took place soon after that of Algiers Proper became the chief province of that kingdom; or rather after its putting itself under the protection of the Turks. But after the deys became powerful and in some measure independent, they contracted it into three districts, or governments, eastern, western, and southern. As those eighteen provinces have very few towns, except their capitals, and most of these very inconsiderable, we shall therefore content ourselves with specifying what is most remarkable in each of them, as we proceed with our description of those three governments; and of the province of Algiers Proper, as being now the most considerable of the whole kingdom, referring to the map for their respective boundaries and situation, with respect to each other.

The eastern, called also the Levantine government, or Beylick, contains the towns of 1. Bona; 2. Constantina; 3. Gigeri; 4. Bujeyah; 5. Steffa; 6. Tebef; 7. Zamoura; 8. Biscara; and 9. Necanz; in all which the Turks have garrisons: besides, it includes the two ancient kingdoms of Couco and Labez, though independent of the Algerine government; because their country is inaccessible. To these we may add a French factory at Callo, under the direction of the company of the French bastion.

The western government comprehends 1. Oran, now the residence of the bey; 2. Tremecen, 3. Mastagan; 4. Tenez; and 5. Secrelly, with its castle and garrison.

[h] Id. ibid. ch. 14.

As

As for the ſouthern, or third government, it hath not ſo much as a town, village, or even houſe; all the inhabitants living in tents, a circumſtance which obliges the bey and his forces to be always encamped. Beſides the towns mentioned under the two former articles, there are ſome we omit, as poor and inconſiderable, without any fort or garriſon, and a great number of others that now lie in ruins [a].

The eaſtern, or Levantine government, is by far the moſt conſiderable of the three, not only in wealth, ſtrength, and extent, but in the number and goodlineſs of its cities; of which we ſhall now give ſome account, reſerving the deſcription of the metropolis for another ſection. The firſt is that of Bona, once the capital of the province under the kingdom of Conſtantina, ſuppoſed to be the ancient Hippo, once the ſeat of the great St. Auſtin, and a ſea port, built by the Romans (A). It was formerly rich and populous, but is now poorly built, and thinly inhabited, and hath ſcarcely any traces of its former grandeur, except the ruins of a cathedral, or monaſtery, built by that prelate. Bona was taken by the pirate Barbaroſſa, and joined to his new kingdom of Algiers, but ſoon after recovered by its former owners the Tuniſens, and as ſoon loſt again by them. It is ſecured by a little fort, in which is a garriſon of about three hundred Turks, under the command of an aga, who is alſo governor of the town. The road for the ſhips is a little farther weſt, towards the Genoeſe fort; it is very deep and ſafe. The country about it, abounds in corn, fruit, and bread, great quantities of ſmall and large cattle, but is much expoſed to the incurſions of the plundering Arabs [b].

The province and town of Bona deſcribed.

2. Conſtantina, the Cirta Julia, and Cirta Numidiæ of the Romans, ſince called Conſtantina, in honour of a daughter of Conſtantine the Great, who rebuilt it with great magnificence, and now by the Moors Cuſuntin, or

Conſtantina deſcribed.

[a] Marmol Afric lib. vi. Taſſy, lib. i. cap. 9. Shaw's Travels, cap. i. p. 6. [b] Marmol, Taſſy, & Shaw, ubi ſupra, ch. vii. & ſeq.

(A) The inhabitants, however, deny it to be the ancient Hippo, which had been ſo often taken, retaken, and deſtroyed by the wars. Dr. Shaw ſays the remains of the ancient Hippo, extend over a neck of land between the rivers Boojemah, and Sei-bouſe. The ruins are about half a league in circuit, and conſiſt only of broken walls and ciſterns.

Cucu-

Cucutin, is the capital of the province of its name. It is commodiously situated about forty-eight miles from the sea, upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except on the south-west. It is computed about a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but ending to the northward in a precipice of at least a hundred fathom perpendicular; but yielding a most beautiful prospect from a great variety of mountains, vales, and rivers, which lie before, and at some distance from it [c]. The town is well fortified, and abounds with noble relics of antiquity, which evince its pristine grandeur, when it was the capital of Mauritania Cæsariensis; such as a great variety of cisterns, aqueducts, porticos, gates, and triumphal arches, of curious workmanship. The bridge over the river Rummel is likewise a noble piece of art; a little below which, that river, running through a subterraneous passage made in the solid rock, about a quarter of a mile in a northern direction, forms a large cascade. In this neighbourhood, is a fine transparent spring of hot water, that swarms with tortoises, which the ignorant women fancy to be devils, and the authors of all their diseases. In this city the bey of the eastern government hath his residence, and maintains a guard of three hundred spahis, or Turkish horse, and fifteen hundred Moors, at his own charge. The inhabitants are wealthy, proud, and brave. The adjacent mountains, which traverse this district, are inhabited by a warlike, yet civilized people, who follow several trades, besides furnishing this and other towns with variety of fruits and provisions. They are so numerous as to be able to raise a body of thirty or forty thousand men upon any dislike taken to the bey of Constantina, or any other occasion. They have no fire-arms, but use lances and arrows; they are often at war with each other, and chiefly on account of their wives; who, when they are weary of their husbands, or ill used by them, commonly fly from one ridge to another in quest of a new consort, and carry off with them what jewels, coin, and other valuable effects they can lay their hands on [d].

Situation.

Antiquities.

Near the city, towards the sea-coast, are the ruins of Colo, a Roman colony, having a castle on a very high rock, with a garrison under an aga's command; under the protection of which, is a small French factory, that

[c] Shaw's Travels, ch. viii. p. 126.

[d] Leo Afric. lib. v. p. 209. Shaw, ubi supra.

deals

deals with the Moors for hides, wax, and wool. The mountains of Colo abound with a large and fierce kind of monkies, which the Moors have the art to catch with great facility. On the same coast are seen the ruins of the ancient city of Stora, which hath a convenient bay, where the Genoese, and after them the French, began their African trade, which hath been since improved by the company of the French bastion. *Ruins of Stora.*

Constantina continued to be the residence of kings from the Arabian conquest of Africa, till ann. 1520, when Barbarossa making himself master of Algiers and Colo, the inhabitants, in order to recover their commerce, which had been ruined by it, submitted to him, and have remained Algerine subjects to this day.

3. Gigeri, or Jigel, the Igilgili of the ancients, is now a poor village, consisting of about fifteen hundred mean houses, commanded by an old fort. It lies on the sea coast between Bona and Bujeyah, about fifteen miles from each, and a little beyond the cape that forms the eastern boundary of the gulf of Bujeyah. The fort is situate on a steep rock, projecting into the sea, by its position forming a two-fold harbour, one on the east, and the other on the west. The inhabitants being mostly of the wandering kind, this territory hath neither town nor any other village. *Gigeri.*

Within this precinct, which borders on the Numidian deserts, stands the famed Mount Araz, stretching between twenty-five and thirty leagues in length from north to south, and every where very difficult of access. Its inhabitants are a race of Arabs, called Cabeylezen, a warlike people, who made this ridge the last refuge of their liberty, and have preserved it ever since by the natural strength of their precipices. Before the year 1664, they used to traffick with the French factory at Gigeri, and carried thither hides, corn, and wax; but a war breaking out between France and Algiers, the French admiral was ordered to build a fort on the sea coast, to be a check upon those Arabs. The work was no sooner begun than they came down, with a design to attack him, and obliged him to put to sea; then they beat the French out of Gigeri, demolished their fort, and made four hundred of them prisoners; since this time they have plundered all strangers that are wrecked upon those coasts, and make slaves of them without distinction, even though they belong to nations in friendship with Algiers and the Porte. The Mohammedans only are discharged,

charged, and sent home with a small viaticum; neither can the dey save any of the wreck to the owners by his authority, or by any other way than a friendly composition.

Bugia. 4. Bugia, the supposed Saldæ of Strabo, built by the Romans [a], and once the capital of a kingdom of its name, hath a handsome sea-port, formed by a narrow neck of land running into the sea; a great part of which promontory was formerly faced with a wall of hewn stone. Here was likewise an aqueduct which supplied the port with water, by discharging it into a capacious bason, all which lie now in ruins; and the tomb of Seedy Busgree, one of the tutelar saints of the place, is the only thing remaining worth notice.

The city itself is built upon the ruins of a large town, at the foot of a high mountain that looks towards the north-east; a great part of the walls run up to the top of it, where there is also a castle that commands the place, besides two others at the bottom, built for a security to the port. The inhabitants drive a considerable trade in plough-shares, mattocks, and other such iron tools, which they manufacture from the adjacent mines. The town is watered by a large river, which Marmol and Dapper call Huet el Quibir, or the *Great River*, and which is supposed to be the Nasava of Ptolemy [b], as it empties itself into the sea a little to the eastward, after it hath received a great number of rivulets into its stream. The place is populous, and hath a considerable market for iron work, oil, and wax [c].

Steffa. 5. Steffa, called by Marmol, Testelza, and by Grammay, Distefa, is situated on the south of Bujeyah, about twenty leagues from it, and fifteen from the sea, on the road from Fez to Tunis [d], in a fruitful valley, which extends as far as the mountain of Labez. It was destroyed by the Arabs; so that it retains nothing now of its pristine grandeur, but the sad remains of its once spacious and stately walls, of square stone of a prodigious size; and the inhabitants, amounting to about three hundred families, are as miserable and poor as any under the Turkish dominions.

Tebef. 6. Tebef hath been likewise a large and flourishing city under the Romans, but lies now in as poor a condition as Steffa.

[a] Shaw, ubi sup. chap. vii. p. 89, & seq. [b] Dapper, ibid.
[c] Shaw, ibid. [d] Marmol, ibid. chap. 52. Dapper, Tassy, &c.

7. Za-

7. Zamora, the ſuppoſed Azama of Ptolemy, is ſunk as low as any of the two former, through the Turkiſh tyranny, and is commanded by a fort built by the Algerine government: it is, nevertheleſs, reckoned one of the moſt fertile places in all Barbary for corn and paſturage. It hath a market every Monday, to which the Arabs reſort in great numbers to ſell their commodities. *Zamora.*

8. Biſcara belonged to the province of Zeb in Numidia, which lies ſouth of the kingdom of Labez; but the Algerines, in their annual inroads, made themſelves maſters of it, to open a more eaſy paſſage into the ſouthern provinces. It retains ſtill ſome remains of the ancient city that gave name to this territory, and hath a garriſon to keep the inhabitants in awe, who lead a wandering life in their tents, and bring lions, tygers, and other wild beaſts, for ſale to ſtrangers. The city of Algiers is never without a great number of Biſcarans, employed in the hardeſt and loweſt offices, as cleanſing of ſtreets, emptying vaults, ſweeping chimnies, and carrying burdens. When an individual has got about ten or twelve crowns by this drudgery, he returns to his own country, where he is reſpected on account of the ſcarcity of coin among them, they being reckoned the moſt miſerable of all the Arabian tribes in this kingdom [s]. *Biſcara.*

The laſt place in this eaſtern government worth notice is Necauz, reckoned one of the pleaſanteſt towns in Barbary, ſituate about twenty leagues ſouth of Steffa, near a pleaſant river, whoſe banks are adorned with a great variety of trees exhibiting the moſt delightful verdure. The figs here are eſteemed the fineſt in all Africa. The territory on each ſide is fertile in corn, and other conveniencies of life. In the town ſtands a ſtately moſque; and not far from it a large college, well endowed, for the inſtruction of the Turkiſh youth. The inhabitants are civil and ſociable; and the women very beautiful; the houſes neat, though but one ſtory high; and the gardens adorned with all ſorts of fruits and odoriferous flowers. It had hoſpitals, and a variety of baths, and other conveniencies; all which dwindle gradually through the tyranny of the Turkiſh government [t].

The territory of Bujeyah, like that of Gigeri, is encompaſſed with high mountains, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Beni-jubar, Auraz, and Labez, inhabited by ſome of the moſt ancient tribes of Arabians, Moors, and Saracens.

[s] Taſſy, ibid. [t] Marmol, ubi ſup. cap. 55. Dapper's Algiers.

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The mountains of Beni-jubar lie about twenty miles south of Bujeyah, and extend themselves along the coast a considerable way, both in length and breadth, being part of the Little Atlas. They are very steep and rugged, and from them flow a great number of streams. They abound with fruit-trees, especially walnuts and figs, and produce plenty of barley, with which the inhabitants feed their numerous herds. The people are warlike, and live under a chief of their own; some of them are excellent archers; and the whole ridge hath here and there villages, inhabited by the tribe or people whose name it bears [u].

Labez is another ridge belonging to the Little Atlas, extending from that of Beni-jubar to the eastern kingdom of Couco. It is inhabited by a stout sort of people, who much resemble them in their manners and way of life; but are, however, subject to a tribute to the dey of Algiers, consisting chiefly in horses. Labez is neither fertile in corn nor fruits; its chief produce is a sort of reed or rush, of which they manufacture the beautiful Arabian mats, called in the language *labez*; from which this kingdom or canton hath its name.

The ridge or canton of Auraz, or Evres, is another part of the Atlas, extending southward from Constantina quite to Biledulgerid. It consists of a large group or knot of hills, running into one another, and intersected by small plains and vallies; the length about thirty leagues [w]. Both tops and bottoms are very fertile. Some springs there are which, coming down from the hills, form a kind of salt-marshes, which the sun dries up in summer, and converts into salt. The inhabitants are fierce and warlike, and live chiefly by robbing and murdering travellers. So fond were they once of their liberty, that they would suffer no stranger to be among them, lest they should learn the passes and avenues leading to their abodes; and so impatient are they now, since the Algerines have brought them under tribute, that it requires no less than forty of their military stations to oblige them to pay it; every year the bey comes at the head of his flying camp to extort it from them.

Inhabitants fierce and numerous.

Couco, kingdom and city.

The last canton worth notice under this eastern government is called Couco, or Cuco, and hath its name from the mountain at the foot of which the metropolis stood, or perhaps from the city itself, once the seat of a king-

[u] Marmol, ibid. cap. 5. Tassy, lib. i. cap. 9. [w] Shaw's Travels, chap. vii. p. 117.

dom,

dom, adorned with noble buildings, particularly with the palace of its princes, who had greatly ſignalized themſelves by their exploits in Spain. It was ſituated in a triangular form, ſouthward of Algiers and Bujeyah, about thirty-ſix miles from the former, and twenty from the latter, at the foot of the mountain, ſurrounded with ſteep rocks, which ſerved it as a ſtrong defence. On the top of this mountain was a great number of farms and villages, very populous and rich; one of which, called Gemahaxaharix, contained five hundred houſes, and had a large market every Friday, reſorted to by a vaſt concourſe of the neighbouring people. The princes poſſeſſed likewiſe a port on the ſea-coaſt called Tamagus, between Bujeyah and Algiers, from which the city drove a conſiderable commerce of hides, wax, and honey, with Marſeilles. The acceſs to it was very difficult and dangerous, through ſuch narrow and rugged deſiles, that a handful of men could have overwhelmed an enemy's army with ſtones; beſides, the city was fortified with ſtrong high walls, on that ſide where it was leſs inacceſſible [x]. In this flouriſhing condition it continued under its princes, till the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, when the king of Couco, then in alliance with that of Spain, ceded the port of Tamagus to him, which the Algerines, however, made themſelves maſters of not long after. In order to put an effectual end to the intrigues between that prince and Spain, they deſtroyed his metropolis, ravaged the plains about it, and obliged him and his ſubjects to fly to the mountains. However, both the city and kingdom of Couco, have, by reaſon of its vicinity to Algiers, and the inacceſſibility of its mountains, been looked upon by the Turks as a thorn in their ſides, becauſe it was a ſure refuge to their enemies, and criminals of ſtate. Some of their deys, when they apprehend any danger from the Porte, or other quarter, or when wearied with the load of government, fly thither; and, if any of them are ſo fortunate as to reach thoſe receſſes, they are ſure to live in ſafety and eaſe, or may wait for an opportunity to remove to ſome other aſylum. Hence it is, that the Algerine government has made ſo many vain attempts againſt the kingdom. Even after they had deſtroyed its capital, and driven its prince farther off among the mountains, yet they never could bring the inhabitants under any ſubjec-

Its flouriſhing ſtate.

Since ruined by the Algerines.

Couco a refuge to the enemies of Algiers.

[x] Marmol Afric. lib. v. cap. 47. Dapper's Algiers. Davity, p. 167. Taſſy, ubi ſupra, p. 126.

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tion. The inhabitants are diſtinguiſhed by the names of Arabians, Bereberes, and Azagues, and value themſelves on their independency, which they have preſerved by forfeiting their wealth. From being once the richeſt people of all the inland countries, in horſes, cattle, grain, and fruits, to ſay nothing of their iron manufacture, nor of their linen and cotton ſtuffs, they are ſunk into the extremeſt indigence and poverty, avoiding all commerce with their neighbours, leſt that ſhould give a handle to the Algerines to bring them into the ſame ſlaviſh ſtate to which they have reduced the reſt of the Arabs and Moors of Barbary [y].

The weſtern government, and its capital Oran.

The ſecond Algerine government is ſtyled the Weſtern, and hath now the city of Oran for its capital, or reſidence of its bey, a place formerly of great repute, containing ſix thouſand houſes, moſtly inhabited by weavers and clothiers, and much reſorted to by Catalonian, Genoeſe, and Venetian merchants. It had ſeveral ſtately moſques, beſides hoſpitals, baths, caravanſeras, and other public buildings; but is now much reduced in point of grandeur and extent, though ſtill completely fortified [z]. It is ſituate on the ſea coaſt, pretty near the foot of a high mountain, upon the ridge of which are built two caſtles that command the town. About a furlong weſt of the mountain ſtands a third caſtle, on a higher ſituation than the two former, with a large valley between them; ſo that their reſpective ridges are ſo remarkably diſunited, that they not only form a convenient land-mark, but render all the approaches from the latter to the former impracticable. To the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt of the town are two other caſtles erected on the level with the lower part of it, but ſevered from it by a deep winding valley, which ſerves as a natural trench to the ſouth ſide of the place. A little rivulet, formed by a ſmall ſpring of excellent water, at about three furlongs diſtance from the town, ſuiting its courſe to the windings of the valley, furniſhes the city with plenty of that element; near the ſpring ſtands another caſtle, which guards the matamors, or ſubterranean depoſitories of corn dug under it, and at the ſame time is an important defence to the city.

The fortifications of Oran.

Taken by, and retaken from the Spaniards.

Moſt of theſe fortifications were built ſince the Algerines retook this important place from the Spaniards, A. D. 1708, after it had continued in their hands above two

y Conf. Marmol, Dapper, Grammay, lib. vii. & al. ſupra citat. & Taſſy, lib. i. p. 146, & ſeq. z Iidem, ibid. Shaw's Travels, chap. iii. p. 24, & ſeq.

hundred

hundred years; during which time the residence of the bey was at Tremecen: for they no sooner made themselves masters of it, than they applied their utmost care to secure it from future attacks, and ordered the bey to come and reside in it; where, besides a strong garrison, he is obliged to maintain, in constant pay, two thousand Coololis, and one thousand five hundred Moors, at his own charge. About two leagues south of Oran, are the ruins of an ancient city, called Batha, which was destroyed in the wars that raged between the African powers, about the beginning of the seventh century. It is now remarkable only for a little chapel, built in memory of a marabout, who lived among these ruins, and by the presents he received for his hospitality to travellers, became rich enough to maintain five hundred disciples, whose employment was to go through a long litany of all the divine attributes by the help of their beads, at certain hours of the day: but his sect is now upon the decline [a].

The ruins of ancient Batha.

Tremecen, formerly Telensin, Telemicen, and by the Arabs, Tlem-son, once the metropolis of one of the greatest kingdoms in Mauritania Cæsariensis, is situate about ten leagues from the sea, thirty south-west of Oran, and five south-south-east of the mouth of the Tafna, upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, from whence issue a great number of springs, which, uniting into one small stream, form a variety of cascades in its descent towards the city. The town is surrounded by a strong wall, forty cubits high, made of mortar composed of sand, lime, and small pebbles, which being cast in a frame, and afterwards well tempered and dried, have acquired a solidity and strength equal to that of stone [b]. The gates of the city, which are five in number, have drawbridges before them, with other fortifications, to defend them. It hath besides, a strong spacious castle built in the modern way, with courts, halls, and handsome barracks, for the janissaries.

Tremecen.

It was divided into several wards, two of which were still distinguishable in Edrisi's time, and might be considered as two cities, of an oblong square figure, inclosed each within its own walls, the two containing, in the year 1562, no less than twenty-five thousand houses well built, with large streets, and a vast number of public buildings of noble structure, particularly five large square colleges built after

[a] Tassy, ubi supra, p. 150, & seq. [b] Shaw, ubi supra, chap. iv. p. 46, & seq.

the Italian manner, besides baths and hospitals, in great number: little is now left but its fortifications, and some noble ruins, the place having been almost destroyed by Hassan, dey of Algiers, A. D. 1670, as a punishment for the disaffection of its inhabitants; so that there is now scarcely a sixth part remaining of this so famed metropolis, which is computed to have been about four miles in circuit [c]. Of one hundred and fifty mosques there remain no more than eight, each with a tower of the Doric order, adorned with marble columns; of one hundred and sixty public baths, there are but four now left. The Jews had ten synagogues, all which are gone to decay [d], the city being now inhabited by none but Arabs, Moors, and Jews, most of them very poor.

Destroyed by the Algerines.

Mostagan.

About twenty leagues east of Oran is the town of Mostagan, or Mostaganin, Musty-Gannim, the Cartenna of Pliny and Ptolemy. It is built in the form of a theatre, with a full prospect of the sea; and, in every other direction, surrounded with hills. In one of the vacant spaces, about the middle of it, are the remains of an old Mooriſh castle. The north-west corner of the city, which overlooks the port, is surrounded with a wall of hewn stone, and hath another castle built in a more regular manner, defended by a Turkish garrison; but all these being overlooked by the adjacent hills, the chief security of the place lies in the citadel, which is built upon one of those eminences, and commands both the city and country [e]. The town is well supplied with water, and its haven is commodious and safe. Behind it rises mount Magaraba, so called from the Magarabas who inhabit it, and are descended from the Bereberes. This mount extends itself about ten leagues from east to west along the Mediterranean coast. These Magarabas live in tents, feed a great quantity of flocks, and pay twelve thousand crowns yearly to the dey of Algiers [f].

Mount Magaraba.

Tenez.

Seven leagues east of Mostagan, about mid-way between Oran and Algiers, stands the city of Tenez, at the foot of a hill, a league from the sea, where it hath a convenient port. Tenez and its territory were once subject to the kings of Tremecen; but, the inhabitants taking advantage of its intestine broils, set up a kingdom of their own, which proved short-lived, and became soon after a prey to the Algerines, who have kept a strong garrison in

Seized on by the Algerines.

[c] Shaw, ubi supra, p. 49. [d] Dapper, Tremecen, Tassy, & al. supra citat. [e] Shaw, ubi supra, chap. iii. p. 32. [f] Marmol, lib. v. chap. 23. Dapper, Tassy, &c.

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it ever since; the governor of it resides in the castle, which was once the royal palace. The territory about it is very fertile in corn, fruits, and pasturage, and produces honey and wax. Marmol supposes this place to be the Laguntum, and Sanut the Tipasa of Ptolemy; but the obscure village of Tefessad is certainly the ancient Tipasa.

Sargel, or Sarcelly.

The last Algerine garrison in this western government is Shershel or Sargel, Sarcelly, or, as Tassy calls it, Sercelles, a poor ruinated town, on the sea-coast, about eight leagues west of Algiers, remarkable only for its harbour for small vessels (L) [g].

The southern, or third Algerine government.

The southern district, or third government of the Algerine kingdom, is altogether without any walled cities, though here and there some noble ruins appear; among which the troops take their quarters, and form a small garrison to keep the inhabitants in awe. These live altogether in tents, and are divided into hords, or adowars, each forming a kind of itinerant village under its respective chief, chosen from among themselves. They change their habitations according to the season, or as the convenience of pasture and agriculture requires. They feed great numbers of cattle, small and great, besides their horses, and other beasts of burden, which carry their portable hamlets from place to place. The greatest part of these districts or cantons, being so many branches of

g Tassy, ubi supra, p. 153.

(L) The ancient city of Tessare, or, as it was called by the Romans, Cæsarea, being situate within this western government, well deserves our notice, as well on account of its having given birth to several eminent philosophers and poets, as for its having been formerly one of the most populous and opulent cities of Africa. It was situate on a bay a mile eastward of Sargel, between it and Algiers, and appears from its ruins to have been three leagues in circuit.

It was built by the ancient Africans, and embellished by the Romans, and afterwards by the princes of the Idrisian line. It was at length totally destroyed by Abdallah, the son of Mohadin, and its inhabitants most inhumanly butchered, A. D. 959. At present, nothing is left but the ruins of its walls, and two ancient heathen temples, the dome of one of which is of such a height, that a ship may be seen from it twenty leagues off.

The Moors call this temple Coborurnia, or Roman sepulchre; it is built of large square stones, and is enclosed all around (1).

(1) Marmol, Afric. lib. v. cap. 34. Dapper's Afric. p. 163.

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mount Atlas, are encumbered with high hills, intersected by vallies, and some of them by wide sandy deserts, all of them more or less fertile according to the nature of the soil, and the plenty or scarcity of water which they afford: some of them, especially in the more southern parts, along the confines of the Sahara, or *great desert*, and in the countries of Zab and Mezzab, are quite destitute of that element, except what they draw from wells, which they are forced to dig wherever they pitch their tents; and of these some are so salt and brackish, and others impregnated with such distasteful minerals, that nothing but necessity can oblige them to use it. These nations pay a kind of tribute to Algiers, but not without being forced to it by the bey's troops, which many of them are careful to avoid, when the time of his visiting them draws near, by removing their stations to inaccessible parts, where he cannot come near them without danger. But, whenever any of these fugitives are afterwards caught, as they are often by surprize, he never fails making them pay double their arrears, or in default, sends them prisoners to Algiers [o].

The forces of this government.

The standing forces which the bey, or governor of this southern province, keeps on foot at his own charge, are inconsiderable; consisting only of one hundred spahis, or Turkish horse, and five hundred Moors. With these he and his court are always encamped in some canton or other, after the manner of the inhabitants. But, at the return of the season for levying the usual tribute, he generally receives a considerable reinforcement from the dey, and may raise contributions in Biledulgerid, whenever he can, either by force or stratagem, open himself a way through the narrow passes that lead into that country [p].

[o] Marmol, Dapper, Tassy, & al. ubi supra.

[p] Tassy, ubi supra, lib. i. cap. ult.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH VOLUME.